



[And say My Lord ! Increase me in knowledge—Qur'ân]

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THE MUGHAL EMPIRE AND THE MIDDLE CLASS: A HYPOTHESIS

THE study of history, during the past fifty or a hundred years, has been undergoing a revolution, one as profound and as far-reaching as the Baconian revolution in the study of the natural sciences. The question need not yet be answered whether or not the new history is a science. At least, all will admit that it is interested in a great deal more than kings, court annals, and military tactics. Modern historians are socially minded, and dynamically minded. They concern themselves with culture, the life of the people, the methods of production, and above all with the basic processes of transformation in a country's life, and the causal inter-relation of specific events with broad developments. But in general, this revolution in the study of history has not yet hit India, or indeed the study of Oriental development at all. In fact, by some it has been deliberately resisted. Vincent Smith, Oxford historian of India, after quoting with approval the similar views of Lane-Poole,¹ writes "The history of India in the Muhammadan period must necessarily be a chronicle of kings, courts, and conquests, rather than one of national and social evolution."² This attitude is to be deplored, also to be corrected. The history of India has been the story of a broad social development, which needs careful study, and which will lavishly repay that study. Those who approach Indian history with proper understanding, and with minds alert to and inquisitive about social processes, will find that Mr. Smith's statement is totally wrong, and that instead there awaits uncovering a fascinating, and instructive picture of economic and social evolution.

Until now, this aspect of India's past has been omitted from the accounts simply by being ignored. It is nothing short of ridiculous that the large Cambridge History of India's volume 'The Mughal Period' should not so much as mention either Tulsī Dās (surely one of the most influential poets in the history of mankind, and "the best and most trustworthy guide to the popular living faith of the Hindu race at the present

¹ *Mechanval India under Mohammedan Rule*, 1903, preface, p. v

² *Akbar the Great Mogul*, 1542-1605, p. 386

day"¹ or *Vijrī Vorah* (at the time "reputed to be the richest merchant in the world")² or *Imām Rabbānī* (the *Mujaddid Alf-i-Thānī*)

In the present paper, therefore, an attempt is made to draw attention to the social evolution underlying one principal period of India's history, namely, the *Mughal* empire. This is done by bringing forth a hypothesis about the economic background of that development, and adducing certain reasons which suggest that further study along this line might prove fruitful.

Before this hypothesis is presented, a more general proposition may be put forward as being by now an established theorem. It is this: that no great historical development has taken place in human society which was unaccompanied by or irrelevant to some economic development. Those who will not accept this theorem, as savouring too much of dogmatism and interpretation, will admit at least this much as an objective observation of fact: that to date, in the case of every major historical development in human society on which research along these lines has been done, some major economic development has been found to be an accompanying or relevant factor. There are, of course, recorded certain major historical developments concerning which no research on this matter has yet been carried out, on them, consequently, one cannot pronounce with certainty whether or not they had an economic aspect or basis. But wherever research has been done, that economic aspect or basis has been found. It is not unreasonable to suppose, therefore, that it would be profitable to approach the remaining instances in the same spirit.

This is not to propound a theory of economic determinism in history. That is a debatable theory, whereas the contention here is, that about what has just been said there can be no debate. Everyone who is informed must readily recognize its truth. The fact is that, as far as we know, an economic development has accompanied, and continues to accompany, every major social development in history. Whether it does so as the cause or the result, the sole cause or one among many, or the symptom, is a question which may be deemed fairly unimportant. It is a question which tends to divert attention from the real issue. Besides, few persons, whether historians, Marxists, or whatever they may be, have a sufficiently clear idea of what they mean by 'cause' to discuss the question profitably.

With regard to *Mughal* India, it is here submitted that the rise of the *Mughal* Empire, with its political and its cultural accomplishments, deserves to be studied from a modern socio-economic point of view. It is surely incredible that the immense achievement of India under the *Mughals* should be the one instance in history of a social upsurge to which economics is irrelevant. But in fact it is not irrelevant. Already, in what little study he has done, the present writer has come across instances in which the economic position and especially the class structure and the

1 F. S. Growse *The Rāmāyana of Tulsī Dās*, Translated from the original Hindi, Introduction, p. 1.

2 W. H. Moreland *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 153.

class struggles of the people involved were extremely relevant to the historical development. They throw light on it, giving an insight and understanding which, so far as is apparent, have been overlooked by the historiographers¹

Clearly, a great deal more research and study will have to be done before an outline of the basic economic process of the empire can be given. Here all that is attempted is to indicate an interpretation suggested by a reading of the history as it is already known, and to mention the more important facts which have brought the suggestion to mind. Briefly, the hypothesis is this: that the rise and florescence of the Mughal empire as a political, economic, and cultural process was connected with the florescence from the early sixteenth century of a prosperous merchant middle class; and that the decadence of that middle class in the seventeenth century left the empire to be based only on the landed upper class, whereupon that empire reverted to a purely feudal² organization which became disorganization, and presently collapsed. (To the difficult question of why that middle class ceased in the seventeenth century to flourish, we shall return later). There are signs that India was beginning to undergo the same process as was being undergone in Europe, of a transition from agricultural feudalism through nationalist States to capitalism. But with at least two fundamental differences. Because of these differences, the development in India was arrested before it had got more than well under way, and instead, the British came in and took over. The two differences are: first, that the development began about a century or so earlier in Europe than here, and this start gave the Europeans an irresistible advantage, and second (the importance of this can hardly be overestimated) the European middle classes had at their disposal the recently-discovered science, and were developing it. The Indian middle class, apparently, had very little science³ and were not developing it.

1 The writer is hoping to publish some of these studies presently

2 The following definition of the word "feudal" in the sense that it is used here, may be taken from the present writer's *Modern Islam in India*, pp. 337 f. —

"Feudal" pertaining to a society, or to the dominant culture or class of a society, which has been predominantly agricultural, and in which the chief form of wealth has been revenue from land, and the chief power has been in the hands of a class who do not work the land but derive income from those who do. Some have objected to the use of the word 'feudalism' for Indian conditions, on the grounds that the characteristic land-tenure system of feudal Europe did not obtain in India. Admittedly the word has associations from European History which must be modified before it can be used also for Indian, or some other word might be used. The present writer has retained it because he has no other word to proffer. Similarly, "*Bourgeois*" pertaining to a society, or to the dominant culture or class of a society, which is predominantly capitalist, in which the chief form of wealth is revenue from commerce and industry, and power is chiefly in the hands of a class who do not work the commerce and industry but derive income (profits) from those who do" (*Ibid.*, p. 337).

3 Their principal possession in this domain was artillery, copied by the Mughals from the Persians and by them from the Turks. Good generalship and organization, including morale, and the use of artillery, were the two bases of Babur's victory at Panipat; hence it may be said that this much Applied Science from the West was fundamental to the Mughals' coming to India in the first place.

Why science was being developed in Europe at this time and not in India is a question which it would be rash to broach here. The West constructed science on a foundation laid by the Arabs in the Near East and Spain, why Arab achievements in this line were appropriated by European culture and not by Persian is an interesting speculation.

The rise of the Mughal empire, we are suggesting, was dependent on the rise of the middle class, and the future certainly lay with that class, not with the nobility. The 'normal' process would have been that before long the merchants would have seized political power for themselves, and ousted the upper-class nobles. And that is actually what did eventually happen. Only, by then trade had passed into European hands, and the middle class which seized power was a foreign middle class, not an Indian one.

Reasons for supposing that something really fundamental was happening in Indian society in the early sixteenth century are not few. The proposition is suggested first by the very rise of both Shēr Shāh's empire and the Mughal empire. Those large centralized States might both have been due (it could perhaps be argued) to chance, to mere personal ability on the part of the individual rulers. But the fact that there were the two instances, in swift succession, makes not improbable the suggestion that a large centralized State was, at this time, 'struggling to be born', and was not to be frustrated or held back by the administrative incompetence of Humāyūn or of Islām Shāh and his successors. If that phraseology seems mystical, let us say that apparently conditions developing in India at that time were favourable to a large unified State, and that a ruler who had the intelligence and ability of a Shēr Shāh or an Akbar could make use of them, while a ruler (like Humāyūn or the later Sūrs) who did not or could not make use of those conditions was soon replaced by one who could. Even had the second battle of Pānīpat been decided the other way, it is perhaps not fantastic to suggest that Hēmū would have organized a wide, centralized, prosperous empire. Similarly, Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt (had the accidents of history been different) might well have served the broad 'purposes of history' if the Mughals had failed to do so. In other words, it is not so much the details of events that are important, nor even personalities to the extent that has been supposed, as the basic developments which were going on at that time.

Let us consider specific reasons for suggesting that Shēr Shāh's and the Mughal empires were connected with a middle class. Those which will be brought forward here are: the size of the States, their centralization, and administrative system, the attitude of the nobility to centralization, standardization of weights and measures, Shēr Shāh's road-building, his police policy, the standardization of the currency; and the rise of a money economy, especially as evinced by Akbar's land-revenue system. Finally, the reflection, in religious ideology, of these changes, and the interpenetration of commerce and feudal rule. These points will

be discussed in turn

First, the size of the States. Not every large empire is a middle class affair, perhaps.¹ None the less, size is important for merchants. They want to trade over long distances, and are immensely benefited by political unification. If they have to cross political frontiers a dozen times in the course of their traffic, and have to thread their way through squabbling and warring petty chiefs, their main business suffers. They warmly welcome a strong, wide-spread State. To the peasant it makes little difference a Bengālī Kīśān hardly cares whether he and the Panjābī Kīśān are under the same ruler or under two separate ones. To the upper class, a strong big State is irksome, as is shown by the fact that upper-class landed nobles are constantly rebelling against it. Even the peacefulness of a well-ordered government is of little attraction to the nobility: their traditional ideology not only condones but glorifies warfare. The merchant, on the other hand, once a large State has been built up, is as devoted to peace and stability as is the peasant. For the noble, fighting is a profession, for the merchant, it is the interruption, if not the ruin, of his profession. As for as the upper class is concerned, the bringing of a wide-spread empire under the rule of one head noble is seen to be beneficial primarily only by that one noble—the emperor himself, and it is well-known that a feudal emperor's chief problem is how to keep his empire together. The centrifugal tendencies of the upper class are strong. This can be seen, for example, in the case of the Mughal empire in the eighteenth century.

But not only was the Mughal empire (and Shēr Shāh's) large and united. It was also centralized and unified. The chief accomplishment in government of both Shēr Shāh and Akbar was centralization.² And what is centralization, if not precisely the supersession of feudalism by some form of nationalism? The unification of the State was begun by Shēr Shāh, who paid particular attention to centralizing control of the army (horse-branding and personal recruiting), thus giving less military power to the feudal nobility and more to the king, and to centralizing and making uniform the revenue and the currency (this economic aspect we shall consider later). The process culminated under Akbar, who adopted and developed these centralizing moves of his predecessor, and

1. More large empires than is sometimes supposed, however, have been based on trade rather than, or as well as, on agricultural wealth. Without studying the question more thoroughly, one would hesitate to say that such an enormous empire, for instance, as Timūr's was the achievement purely of an upper class. Actually, commerce and the merchant class provided the substructure on which was raised all the civilization and the empires of Central Asia and the Near East, and Arabo-Persian Islamic culture. This is indicated partly by the fact that that civilization, those empires, and that culture degenerated when world trade-routes shifted from that part of the world (with the introduction from the sixteenth century of modern shipping) and commerce went by sea. The nineteenth century development of the railway and the Suez canal, and the twentieth-century development of air travel, have coincided with a revival of civilization in those areas.

2. See Qanungo *Shēr Shāh*, Chapter XII, and Vincent A. Smith, *op cit*, pp 1213 f, p 142, and Chapter XIII.

added a basically important one of his own – a reform in the executive administration. The Mansabdārī system is virtually the abolition of a purely landed upper class, and its transformation into a class of salaried government officials¹. Theoretically, and in its pure form, it is the denial of feudalism altogether; it is the replacing of feudalism by a modern governmental executive. Had it been applied in its pure form, it would have meant the inauguration of an entirely new era. But in practice, there were large compromises; the transition was not complete. The attempt to impose the new system was never quite successful, even under Akbar², while the later emperors pursued the same policy much less vigorously. Upper-class dependence on land, although theoretically abolished, remained always in the background, if not more prominent, and re-asserted itself³ gradually during the reigns of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān, and especially under Aurangzeb⁴. By the eighteenth century, feudalism of the old type had become dominant, and the Mughal empire as a large centralized State quite collapsed. Moreover, at all times the revenue for paying the Mansabdārs' salaries came almost entirely from land. Nevertheless, the tie between the noble and his land, if not completely severed, was certainly much weakened by the new system, and to some extent even the Mansabdār himself took on ideologically and politically the characteristics of a bourgeois class. Even in instances where the noble directly administered agricultural territory for the revenue that it produced, yet the policy (inaugurated by Shēr Shāh)⁵ of swift transfer of officers from place to place, symbolized and furthered the weakening of the noble's feudal attachment to landed property.

A basic question to ask in history of important innovations is, who benefited from them and welcomed them. In this case the answer is clearly not 'the upper class'. Their attitude to centralization was expressed in their revolts against it. Examples are under Islām Shāh, and against Akbar in 1580. Shēr Shāh died before the consequences of his unifying policy became apparent but his successor, Islām Shāh, without his father's administrative ability, had to face repeatedly the rebellion of the discontented nobility, who successfully overthrew the power of the centre.

1 For the Mansabdārī system, cf. the previous note, and see further Tripathi: *Some Aspects of Muslim Administration*, Irvine: *The Army of the Indian Mughals*, Sri Ram Sharma: *Organization of Public Service in Mughal India* (1526-1707), Reprint from the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. XXIII, 1937, Part II), Moreland: *India at the Death of Akbar*, etc.

2 "Akbar devoted much energy to the conversion of Jagīrs into crown lands (Khālsa)" (Smith, *op cit*, p. 365), but he "admittedly attained only imperfect success" (*Ibid*, p. 366), cf. also the other writers, especially Tripathi.

3 Moreland: *India at the Death of Akbar*, pp. 67 f., Moreland: *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, p. 235, Cambridge *History of India*, Vol. IV, pp. 465 ff.

4 Jadunath Sarkar: *A Short History of Aurangzeb*, p. 477, gives the figure of jagīrdārs as about 50 per cent of the total.

5 'Abbās Khān Sarwānī: *Ta'rikh-i-Shēr Shāhī*. See S. R. Sharma: *Mughal Empire in India* (1940 edition), pp. 168 f.

by the next reign¹ More instructive is the other instance, under Akbar² In fact, the significance and importance of the new administrative measures, and their revolutionary nature, cannot be properly appreciated without realizing what strong opposition they aroused, from the traditional ruling class Shortly after developing his reforms in the administration, Akbar sent Muzaffar Khān Turbatī (who had had a hand in framing them) as governor of Bengal This man proved a zealous and strict centralizer,³ and set about putting the new policy into practice drastically, whereupon the feudal nobles of Bihar and Bengal rose against him, defeated and killed him, and seized his treasury When the emperor sent an army to resubdue the province, the opposition spread throughout the empire a large section of the nobility allied with Hakīm of Kābul, and there was a party of nobles at the court itself who joined in the conspiracy

The situation that developed is deemed by Smith "the most critical time" of Akbar's reign,⁴ and in fact amounted to nothing less than a plot on the part of a wide-spread section of the feudal nobility to replace the emperor by his brother and to replace the new system by the old It was not that they thought that Hakīm would prove a more able ruler, he was obviously worthless On the contrary, it was precisely because he was less able and would not attempt to run the new administration, but would let them carry on in their own way, exercising their own traditional local feudal powers In this rebellion, which rocked the empire to its foundation, the class struggle that was going on at the time became overt The revolting party may well be termed 'reactionaries,' for they set afoot a powerful movement (of the old ruling class) to preserve the *status quo* and to frustrate Akbar's transition to a new type of State Only by a small margin did the progressive loyalist forces win out, and even then only at the price of concessions As a result of this rebellion, Akbar was compelled not to press his scheme too far⁵

Apart from this major attempt to sabotage the entire system we find that constantly the individual Mansabdārs tried to be Jagīrdārs as of old. All the evidences indicate that the nobles preferred to be paid in land rather than in cash⁶

Theoretical considerations at once explain what these facts indicate that it was not the nobility who applauded the empire's new administration, the class who profited from it was not the upper class But a little

1 See S R Sharma, *op cit*, pp 178 ff, or *Cambridge History of India*, Vol IV, pp 58 ff

2 See Smith, *op cit*, Chapter VII, or *Cambridge History of India*, Vol IV, pp 125 ff

3 Muzaffar Khān had originally been unsympathetic to the new system, and had lost favour and office thereby, but later was reconciled and reinstated. Smith, *op cit*, pp 121 f, 184 ff

4 *Ibid*, p 190

5 See Tripathi, *op cit*, pp 322 f, with reference to Badā'ūnī *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*

6 The statement applies until the end of Aurangzeb's reign, for a note on the eighteenth century see *Cambridge History of India*, Vol IV, p 472

reflection will show that the merchants would be decidedly benefited by governmental unification and systematization (to say nothing of the enormous benefit that they would derive from the system of paying officials in cash, since they were the financiers. We shall return to the economic aspect later). A landed nobility has always been content with diversification, with one system of administration and so on in one area and another system in another. Why not? it is not inconvenienced. But a middle class is not content. A middle class welcomes unification, welcomes standardization of the government over a large area. A man who buys silver in Surat and sells it in Delhi, who buys Kashmir shawls in Lahore and sells them in Patna, is delighted to have a systematized law, a uniform currency, a standard system of weights and measures. If a maund weighed 56 pounds in Agra and 27 in Surat,¹ the landed nobility did not care, nor the peasantry (peasants still to-day maintain their diverse local customs throughout the country), nor the urban working-class. But the merchants cared very much. Rulers like Akbar who standardized the weights and measures must have had the middle class in mind, and it must have been the middle class who primarily supported the move.

Similarly is the systematization of law. On this subject for the Mughals not much work has been done² (it might prove a fruitful field), nor has the present writer gone into it, except to notice the *Fatāwā-e-‘Ālam-gīrī*, and to point out that it is normally a middle class State which produces codifications of its law (Justinian's, Napoleon's, or Turkey since it has turned bourgeois), while agricultural societies are content with discriminatory justice.

Next there is the question of roads. Everyone knows that Shēr Shāh built roads, but few seem to have wondered why. Those whose curiosity has been aroused have been satisfied with the answer 'for military purposes'. That is indeed a 'possible and a partial answer, though conquerors are not typical road-builders. An equally important, if not more important, answer is, surely, 'for the merchants.' Peasants do not travel from Sunargāon to the Indus (except perhaps for pilgrimages, but their needs would hardly justify the expense), nor nobles often (again, not often enough to justify the expense). But merchants were making such trips constantly, and it must have been they who applauded the loudest when these roads were opened up. And consider the *Sarā'es* and the shady trees (to be taken, no doubt, with a pinch of salt) these were surely not put up for soldiers, nor would the nobility stop at an inn. Throughout history, routes are trade routes. The provision for Hindus at Shēr Shāh's *Sarā'es* marches with the suggestion that they were for merchants. And Qanungo observes that some of the halting-places on these roads "developed into centres of busy market-towns, where peasants could profitably

1 Moreland *India at the Death of Akbar*, p. 53

2 See Muhammad Basheer Ahmad *The Administration of Justice in Medieval India*, Wahed Husain *Administration of Justice during the Muslim Rule in India*

sell their agricultural produce and get in return little commodities of comfort."¹

Another point of Shēr Shāh's administration is his police system the policy of holding the local headman responsible for 'crimes'² occurring within his jurisdiction. This system does not make sense if one is thinking of disputes between local peasants—a case of one villager's stealing his neighbour's cattle, or an instance where the murder of a peasant is suspected to have been done by his jealous wife, though the proof is unsubstantial. The tradition was that the nobility did not interfere with the Panchāyat system in purely local cases,³ and one fails to see why Shēr Shāh should have tried to meddle with this tradition. For a central government to hold its own policemen responsible in such cases whenever the true culprit was not found, would have been as unfeasible as it would have been ludicrous. A little reflection will show that such cases would never, under the circumstances, have been reported to the centre, and that if they had, endless complications would have arisen between the police and the peasants. But the whole scheme immediately takes on the light of reason and practicability, as soon as one imagines it as applying in cases where a merchant, travelling through an area, is set upon and robbed. And as a matter of fact, a more careful reading of the original sources reveals that this was precisely what was in mind.⁴ When a merchant or the like is robbed, it makes excellent middle-class sense to pass an order that the local authorities will be held responsible to the central government unless they can produce the culprit and/or make good the damage.

A further step taken by Shēr Shāh in favour of the commercial group was his policy on customs dues. He abolished all tariffs on commerce except frontier customs on goods coming from Bengāl and from Khurāsān, and a sales tax at the place of sale.⁵ "No one dared to levy other customs, either on the road or on the farnes, in town or village," we read in the *Tā'rikh-i-Shēr Shāhī*⁶, and Qanungo comments "Shēr Shāh's reconstruction of the tariff system revived the dwindling commerce of Northern India"⁷. Similarly, it is instructive to analyse Jahāngīr's policy of conciliation on his accession in 1605. He had had to fight for the

1 Quoted in S. R. Sharma, *op cit*, p. 171.

2 Ishwari Prasad (*A Short History of Muslim Rule in India*, p. 324) writes

"He tried to enforce the principle of local responsibility in the matter of preventing crimes," similarly many other writers have not attempted to distinguish what sort of crime was under consideration.

3 "The village assemblies or Panchayats as they are still called, which had been managing local affairs, executive and judicial for several centuries and had grown into powerful bodies, obtained due recognition in all medieval States" (M. B. Ahmad, *op cit*, p. 62).

4 See 'Abbās Khān Sarwānī, *op cit*, quoted in S. R. Sharma, *op cit*, pp. 166 and 172.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 172.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 172.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 172.

succession (which fact is indicative of the still feudal nature of the empire) and having got it, to strengthen his position he conciliated the upper class by amnesties and promotions,¹ the general public by promises of justice² and public works (such as hospitals),³ and the middle class by tax relations⁴ the abolition of Abwāb, etc. In fact, the emperors, from Shēr Shāh to Aurangzeb,⁵ paid direct subsidies to commerce in the form of abolishing Abwāb and reducing or abolishing customs dues. True, the upper class resisted putting these concessions to the middle class into practice.⁶ Yet the concessions must have meant some benefit, and in any case they show a sustained interest, on the part of the central State, in commerce.

Finally, we come to the systematization of the currency, and to the most important point of all, the rise of a money economy. The great attention paid by Shēr Shāh⁷ and Akbar⁸ to the mints, and the care with which they introduced throughout their domains the use of a uniform currency, speak unmistakably of commerce. Agriculturalists seldom bother about coins at all, and never do so to the extent of worrying whether they are uniform in Ajmer and Gawr. But merchants bother a good deal.

The rise of a money economy with the empire is not in dispute, but its profound significance appears to have been overlooked. In a feudal, landed society, dominated by an upper class, wealth is in goods (especially land), not in money. Production is for use, not for a market. Even large industry is carried on for barter: the king has the court cloth-factory, pays the workers in food and shelter, and uses personally or distributes as gifts the materials that they produce. Revenue is in kind. Power is in armed followers. This was the prevailing condition of India in the fifteenth century and earlier. But in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, this system was giving way to the middle-class system of coined money. Even government officials were to be paid salaries, the cash for these would, at some stage, pass through the hands of the bourgeoisie. What is more significant, even the land revenue⁹ was finally calculated in currency figures. Shēr Shāh assessed revenue in kind, collected it in kind

1 Beni Prasad *History of Jahāngir*, pp. 114 ff.

2 The famous 'Chain of Justice,' and regulations 5, 6, and part of 3, of the 'Twelve Ordinances' (as given in S. R. Sharma, *op cit*, pp. 373 f.)

3 Regulation 7 (*Ibid*, p. 374).

4 Regulations 1, 2, 3 (*Ibid*, p. 373).

5 For Shēr Shāh, cf. notes 27 ff. above. See also Moreland *India at the Death of Akbar*, pp. 48 f. (cf. Smith, *op cit*, p. 377), Sarkar, *op cit*, p. 107, and Jadunath Sarkar *Mughal Administration* (1935 ed) Chapter V (pp. 79-82 and 90-105).

6 Consult the references for the previous note.

7 See Qanungo, *op cit*.

8 See Smith, *op cit*, p. 157.

9 For the land revenue system, see *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, Chapter XVI. Cf. also Tripathi *op cit*, Chapters X and XI.

or in cash—usually the former, probably, but he preferred cash and encouraged its use. Apparently money was beginning to come into general use, though just beginning.

Gradually during the sixteenth century that use of money spread. The repeated reforms of the revenue administration under Akbar show him as slowly feeling his way from a system based on a barter economy to one based on a cash economy. From the beginning, cash equivalents were fixed, which were slowly adjusted more and more nicely to local conditions and prices. Finally, in Todar Mal's Band-o-Bast of 1580, the whole schedules were in cash. For the first time in Indian history, not only the collection but the assessment itself was in terms of money: the assessment was so many Dāms per Bighā. This technical and seemingly trivial fact represents, surely, one of the most fundamental changes in the basic life of the Indian people that mediæval history affords. For it means that, well before the end of the sixteenth century, throughout Hindostān wherever the system applied, the peasant was expected to sell his produce in the open market, and to have cash with which to pay his dues.

To ponder this is to realize what a transformation had taken place. The upsurge of cash markets throughout the country, where farm produce was bought and sold. The peasantry emerging as a potential market for industrial goods, to be sold to them for money. And so on. Thus we see that an amendment is necessary in Karl Marx's otherwise brilliant analysis of Indian social history. More than ninety years ago, Marx wrote "All the civil wars, invasions, revolutions, conquests, famines, strangely complex, rapid and destructive as their successive action in Hindostan may appear, did not go deeper than its surface"¹—meaning that the 'kings, courts, and conquests' did not, as Vincent Smith also imagined, alter the fundamental village life of India. The curious point is not that an amendment should now be necessary, but that virtually no progress has been made during the century since this writer set the study of Indian history on the right track. Thus Palme Dutt, writing in 1940, states that "the British conquest differed from every previous conquest, in that the previous foreign conquerors left untouched the economic basis and eventually grew into its structure."² Our thesis is that the Mughal conquest did touch the village economy of India and began to revolutionize it. However, it is not our purpose here to examine that revolution from the point of view of the villager—though we may suggest it as an interesting field for research. Our concern here is with the merchants. It is hardly mere idle speculation to suggest that the new economy implies a new prosperity, almost a new world order, for the commercial middle class.

1 In the *New York Herald Tribune*, June 25, 1853. Reprinted in Karl Marx, *Articles on India*, People's Publishing House, Bombay, 1943, p. 23 (but wrongly reading 'the successive' for 'their successive,' and 'Hindustan' for 'Hindostan').

2. Palme Dutt, *India Today*. Reprinted *ibid.*, p. 6.

Trade was being expanded to include as market the entire population, instead of merely the tiny ruling class and the towns. It was being expanded to include in the category of goods handled by the traders the agricultural produce of India involved in the land revenue. If one considers the question of cash money, which is the form that middle-class wealth takes, one realizes that the amount of it increased enormously during the period, as did, no doubt, its rate of circulation. The empire was continually minting coins in large quantities, and the Europeans' entire trade was financed by cash. Actually, the huge influx of gold and silver into India and the expansion of coined money under the Mughals did not result, apparently, in any rise in prices.¹ This implies that the quantity of commodities available in the market must have increased proportionately—which indicates the stimulus to production and to business generally resulting from the briskness of commerce. It would be highly instructive to have some calculation of the actual amount of money in circulation in North India in the sixteenth century. One would like to know how much it was at the beginning of the century, and how much at the end. Practically all of it must have passed through the hands of the middle class.

There is a further point, which those unacquainted with the new modes of thought will find strange. One of the discoveries of the modern study of history is that religious developments too reflect or accompany basic changes in social processes.² It is not too fantastic to suggest that the religious liberalism of Akbar and the syncretist tendencies of the age indicate an alliance of the predominantly Muslim upper class with the predominantly Hindu middle class. Modern communalist-minded scholars are much interested in going carefully through the extant records to discover how many government positions Hindus held under various emperors.³ We do not call into question the basic importance of the Mughal-Rājput alliance. But we feel that the Hindu element in the upper-class group, which element after all was rather small,⁴ is only one part of the picture, and that the Hindu middle class must also be considered if we want to make that picture complete. Into this theory fits this observed fact—that later in the seventeenth century when, as we said above, the Indian middle class was on the wane and its political importance had more or less vanished, then the upper class, being left alone to rule, reverted to religious orthodoxy, and even severed the alliance with the Rājputs.

1. Brij Narain, *Indian Economic Life*, p. 20; Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, pp. 170-185.

2. See, for example, Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*; Mannheim, *Ideology and Utopia*, and numerous other works in which the point is elaborated for the religion and history of the West. For an exposition of the thesis with regard to Islam, the present writer's recent study *Modern Islam in India* may be consulted.

3. E.g., Sri Ram Sharma, op. cit., or the same author, *The Religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors*.

4. Under Akbar, the most liberal of the emperors, among the 30 per cent of the nobility who were no foreigners, approximately half were Hindu, half Muslim (Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, p. 70).

Similarly, when the representatives of the old social order in Bengal and Bihar, the feudal nobility, revolted against Akbar's nationalistic innovations after 1580 (as we have discussed above), they got for ideological support the backing of the representatives of the old religious order. The Mullās declaimed vehemently against the emperor's liberalism. The Qādī of Jawnpur gave a *Fatwā* authorizing rebellion against Akbar.¹

Throughout this important social struggle between progress and the *status quo* had its religious counterpart.

That the middle class was prosperous and important in Mughal India is no mere speculation. True, Moreland doubts that their property was safe or ostentatious,² but actually there are numerous references, from foreign travellers and others, to the wealthy merchants, their brick and stone houses at Agra, etc.,³ and it is known that the trade with Iran, the Far East, the Near East, and Europe was substantial, and there is every reason to suppose that internal trade was substantial too. All the main towns are described at this period as being flourishing markets⁴, and when the European travellers, themselves middle class, were impressed with India's great wealth, they often meant wealth in a middle-class sense.

Concerning direct relations between the ruling class and the middle class, the suggestion may be thrown out that research here might indicate much, though little is clear at the moment. Meanwhile, however, one may point to Hēmū⁵ and Mīr Jumlah⁶ as examples of merchants turned rulers, and as for rulers turning merchants, there is evidence that Akbar⁷ indulged in speculative ventures and owned merchant ships, as did Jahāngīr⁸ and his mother⁹ and his son (Khurram)¹⁰. Moreover, it was apparently quite customary for the administrative officials to upset local trade by their intervention "as buyer or seller of practically any commodity,"¹¹ and "a local governor was in practice free to enter the market on his own initiative."¹² This connection, also, worked both ways: we read that "in some commercial centres local governors were frequently appointed from the mercantile community."¹³

1 *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, p. 126

2 Moreland *India at the Death of Akbar*, p. 264

3 Brij Narain, *op cit*, pp. 59-65

4 Smith, *op cit*, p. 395, cf. *Ibid.*, p. 410

5 *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, p. 64

6 *Ibid.*, p. 218, Moreland *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, pp. 148 f., 86

7 E.g., Smith, *op cit*, p. 411

8 Joshi, V. C. *East India Company and the Mughal Authorities during Jahāngīr's Reign*, p. 17 (reprint from *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XXI, Parts 1 and 2, 1942)

9 *Ibid.*, p. 3

10 *Ibid.*, p. 15

11 Moreland, *op cit*, p. 146

12 *Ibid.*, p. 146.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 147

In other words, not only was there sympathy between the rulers and the merchants, in some instances they were the same persons

The discussion has been confined to a commercial middle class. There seems little to suggest that an industrial middle class was prominent, if indeed it existed at all. Trade was in the merchants' hands, but production, with few exceptions, seems to have been with the artisans on the piece-system, working *ad hoc* on each order, or with the nobility. The only large-scale industrial organization apparent in the Mughal period was that of the courts, where production was for use, not for a market.¹ Artillery, building, and the most important industry of all, cloth, seem not to have passed from a feudal system to the middle class. A possible explanation is that the Indian middle classes never got the chance to amass the requisite capital before their decline.

An important question remains: namely, why the commercial middle class, if it was expanding and prospering in the sixteenth century and on into the seventeenth, dwindled into political impotence in Aurangzeb's time. Competition from the Europeans is one possible answer, but is perhaps an inadequate one, since few scholars would ascribe great consequence to the position of the foreigners within India before 1700.² Moreland's answer would be that the administrative incompetence of the empire, and even more of the South Indian States, strangled the middle class at the time of Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān.³ This would raise the further question why that middle class allowed itself to be strangled, or the general query why it was not able to produce, or anyway why it did not produce, for itself the requisite energy, moral and other, to build up here capitalism and a capitalist State. In any case, if our foregoing thesis is somewhat correct, that a prosperous expansive middle class was emerging under Akbar, then a highly profitable study would be to ascertain why it did not come to maturity. From a comparison, then, of this instance of middle class failure, with the instance in Western Europe of a bourgeoisie that emerged and proved successful, one could make a fundamental contribution to the science of society and history.

In conclusion, it must be emphasized that the present paper is proffered to stimulate discussion, not to force conclusions. And certainly the thesis must not be carried too far. The Mughal empire, we suggest, was allied to the middle class, and during its most flourishing period it had middle-class commerce as a secondary and very important basis. But its primary basis remained land, and it never quite outgrew that heritage. Rather,

1 See Moreland *India at the Death of Akbar*, pp. 184 ff.

2 It is interesting, however, to find an Englishman (Sir Josiah Child) as early as 1687 thinking in terms of the East India Company's dominating the internal situation in India. "In 1687 he pointed out that the developments in India were 'forming us into the condition of a sovereign State in India,' and recommended the Company to establish 'the foundations of a large, well-grounded, sure English Dominion in India for all time to come'" (Lester Hutchinson *The Empire of the Nabobs*, p. 61).

3 From Akbar to Aurangzeb, Chapter X "Summary and Conclusion", especially pp. 300 ff.

as we have indicated, it was ready to revert to it altogether once the middle class secondary basis was removed. But thereupon it floundered. The downfall of the empire may be seen in its beginnings in the campaigns in Central Asia (1645-53) of *Shāh Jahān* in them Mughal imperialism wasted millions of money, and untold time, effort, prestige, and lives, pursuing its traditional feudal¹ dream of land conquest, when if it was to survive at all it should have been devoting its attention to the sea and to commercial protection and expansion.² When the empire pursued policies beneficial to the middle class, it prospered. When it followed the old upper-class policies, especially under Aurangzeb, it collapsed in a heap of ruins.

WILFRED CANTWELL SMITH

1. Not entirely feudal. Qandahār was important as a commercial as well as a strategic centre.

2. Occasionally the emperors did seem to appreciate somewhat the danger of the foreign trading powers, and undertook to fight against them (cf. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 263 ff., *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, pp. 190 ff., Sarkar *Short History of Aurangzeb*, pp. 404 ff.), but they fought in terms of their military power rather than in terms of their trade. The attacks were land attacks only, and no one seems to have thought of trying to overcome their challenge by strengthening Mughal sea-power or Mughal commerce.

CULTURAL INFLUENCES UNDER AHMAD SHĀH WALĪ BAHMANĪ¹

[22-9-1422—26-2-1434]

HOWEVER "saintly"² the new king was, and however innocent of the death of his brother Fīrōz, he must have heaved a sigh of relief when he heard that his brother was no more. But at the very outset of his reign he had to undergo the shock of the death of his benefactor Hadrat Khwājā Syed Muhammad Gēsū Dārāz, which occurred barely three weeks after his accession on 16-11-825/26-10-1422.³ Hadrat had been Ahmad's supporter ever since he had come to settle down at Gulbarga, and it is no exaggeration to say that but for the support of the group which gathered round the saint, who had become a kind of leader of the opposition to Fīrōz, Ahmad would not have ousted his brother and his nephew from the throne so easily. It is possible that the saint's death was one of the causes of the change of the capital from Gulbarga to Bidar, though other causes must have contributed to bring about the decision as well.

CHANGE OF CAPITAL

THE change of capital was really a symbol of the revolution which was

1 The title *Shihābu'd-dīn* occurs on a tablet which is now built into the prayer niche of an old mosque at Raudā, a suburb of Nuṣratābād-Sāgar. See *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1931-32, p. 16. This corroborates the title of the king in *Burhānu'l-Ma'āṣir*, 53. Bur's statement that his father was Ahmad Khān son of Bahman Shāh, not Dāwūd, is corroborated by coins. The reverse of one of the specimens clearly reads سلطان احمد شاه بن احمد الحسن الهمی. See Sherwani, *Mahmūd Gāwān, the Great Bahmanī Wazīr*, p. 56, Note 40. Speight, *Coins of the Bahmanī Kings*, Islamic Culture, Hyderabad-Deccan, 1935, p. 295. This parentage is also given by Khafī Khān, *Muntakhabu'l-Lubāb*, III, 47. Nuṣratābād-Sāgar, in Gulbarga district, H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions, 16°37' N, 76°48' E.

2 Ahmad I's sainthood is recognised by many Deccanis, both Hindus and Muslims, the Muslims calling him Hadrat Ahmad Shāh Walī and the Hindus 'Alam Prabhū. One often sees, especially on the 'Urs or day of the anniversary of the king's death, hordes of Hindus and Muslims, men and women, standing by the grave and begging the dead monarch to intercede on their behalf. It is related how it was his prayers which once brought rain to the famine-stricken Deccan. He was a great believer in the supernatural, in Hadrat Gēsū Darāz, and Shāh Nī'matu'l-lāh Kirmānī. See Zahīrud-Dīn, *Ahmad Shāh Bahmanī*, Hyderabad, Deccan, 1937, Ch. XI.

3 Immediately on his accession Ahmad gave a number of villages to Hadrat Gēsū Darāz, and 'Abdu'l Jabbār Khān, *Taḥkīka Salāṭīn-i-Dakan*, p. 107, says that the deed of the Jāgīr given by Ahmad Shāh is still with the Sajjādā Naṣhīn of the mausoleum.

taking place in the Bahmanī state both in its inward and outward aspects. The Bahmanī state, founded by 'Alāu'd-dīn Bahman Shāh and organised by Muhammad I, had suffered internally by the uncertainties of the royal office, and every one of the occupants of the throne from Mujāhid onwards, with the single exception of Muhammad II, had died a violent death. The Bahmanis had been on the throne for barely seventy-five years, and the shrewd Ahmad must have perceived that his throne was not safe in an atmosphere which engendered blood-thirsty traditions. The history of the last three-quarters of a century was a negation of all rules of orderly succession to the throne, and this state of affairs must have produced an atmosphere of intrigue entailing faithlessness and disloyalty to the ruler at Gulbarga whoever he might be. Moreover Ahmad must have been fully conscious of the steps by which he could become king and brush aside his nephew. The saint Gēsū Dārāz's death so soon after his accession may have weighed heavily on him, and he must immediately have begun thinking hard how to extricate himself from the shackles of intriguing Gulbarga where there was no doubt a large party of nobles and commoners who considered Ahmad to be only a usurper.

If we compare the Gulbarga period of Bahmanī rule with the Bidar period we immediately see a vast change in the spirit of the Sultanate. The period of the Bidar Sultanate was one of internal peace. Intrigues there no doubt were, and as will be seen later the mutual antipathy of the Āfāqīs and the Dakhnīs finally led to the downfall of the kingdom. But it is remarkable that after the blood-thirsty atmosphere which Ahmad left at Gulbarga, and in spite of the Dakhnī-Āfāqī intrigues, in spite of the rise of the succession states and of the gradual weakness of kingship, we find that there is not a single case of regicide from the accession of Shihābū'd-Dīn Ahmad in 1422 till the first quarter of the sixteenth century, when all power had been lost, and in fact the right of primogeniture became firmly established in the Deccan as it never was in Northern India right through the medieval period. It would not be too much to say that credit for this state of affairs is due to the man who moved his capital to a new district.

There was another tradition which was finally shaken off by the removal of the capital, and that was the Tughluq tradition. It has been noticed elsewhere that Firōz was the first Bahmanī who, while he encouraged the influx of Irānians, Irāqīs and Arabs from over the seas, attempted to offset their influence by an admixture of Hindu tradition in the life of the Deccan. As time went on the purely Tughluq influence must have waned, and of this the contrast between Mujāhid's tomb and Firōz's "double tomb," both on the same platform, is abundant proof. It has already been related how Hindu influence was creeping even into sacred Muslim edifices such as the prayer niche in Ghiyāthū'd-Dīn's tomb and Firōz's mausoleum. Now the Bidar period opens a new chapter in Deccan architecture, for while the Tughluq influence almost entirely disappears,

its place is taken by the influence of the Irānians who flocked to the Deccan more than ever, making their mark in art, architecture, politics, religion and other aspects of the life of the land, to the great chagrin of the northern colonists who were now calling themselves Dakhnīs. The Irānian influence in architecture is manifested to such an extent that the peculiar Perso-Deccanī or Bahmanī arch with its stilted apex was copied by their foes of Vijayanagar, and even now the visitor to the great ruins of Hampī stands astounded at the faithful manner in which that arch has found a place in the Talārigatta Road, Zenana compound, Watch tower in Danāk's enclosure, the so-called elephants' stables, and other monuments in the great ruins, side by side with purely Hindu temples, shrines, platforms, and bas-reliefs¹

One other consideration must have weighed on Ahmad's mind and that is the sultry atmosphere of Gulbarga compared with the fertility and and healthiness of Bidar. The word Gulbarga or Kalbarga means "stony land" in Canarese, and this part of the Deccan is noted for its very scanty rainfall. On the other hand Bidar is situated on a plateau 2,330 above the sea and is definitely one of the healthiest parts of the Deccan tableland. It is no doubt this which has led our chroniclers to hand down to posterity stories of a Bidar rabbit or a fox chasing a dog from some other clime, and an old man of Bidar being stronger than young men of other parts²

Lastly, recent years had seen the progress of Bahmanī arms into Tīlāngānā in the reign of Firōz, and although he had to leave Rajahmundry he managed to get a greater hold on the eastern parts of the Deccan than his predecessors ever had. In shifting the capital to Bidar Ahmad must have had in mind more or less the same considerations as those of Muhammad b. Tughluq when he made Daulatābād the second capital of his vast empire, for Gulbarga was too much in a corner of the Bahmanī kingdom which had been greatly enlarged since the throne had been placed in the

1 For a description and photographs of Hampī see Longhurst, *Hampī Ruins*, Delhi, 1933, plates 15, 16, 31, 32, 34, 36. There were 10,000 Muslims in Deva Rāya's army, Sewell and Aiyangar, 217 (E C III, sr 15, X Bp, 72, XI, cd, 29)

2 Kulbarga meaning stony land, Bashīru'd-Dīn Ahmad, *Wāq'āt-ī Mamlukāt-ī Bijāpur*, Part III, 1915, p 450. Yazdani, *Antiquities of Bidar*, 1917, p 1. Our chroniclers are profuse in laudating Bidar, Firāshā (I 324) says that the plain of Bidar was "vast like the blue sky itself," and the countryside with most pleasant zephyrs smelling of the most vivid scents of flowers and with abundant flowing water. Bur 54, 55, says that "the soil of Bidar is as glittering as the firmament, full of rivulets and flowers, where paths are bounded by green grass, while the air is like the zephyrs of paradise", while *Tabāqāt-ī Akbarī*, 417, says that Bidar has a green expanse of land and a most enchanting climate. The episode of the fox chasing the dog is given by Firāshā and Khāfī Khān *Muntakhbat-ī Lubāb*, III, Calcutta, 1925, 71, of the fox and the hare by Rafī'u'd-dīn Shīrāzī, *Tadhkiratu 'l-Muluk*, Aṣāfiyah, Tarikh, 1081, fol. 10 (a), the tale of the old man of Bidar being stronger than a younger man of elsewhere is found in Zahir u'd-dīn, *op cit*, p 87, quoting a Marathi manuscript, *Sultān Sūn* which is in possession of the patel of Solpur in the district of Bidar. Strangely enough the story of the fox and the dog is repeated in the case of the choice of a site for Ahmadnagar by Ahmad Nizām Shāh in Bur, 214.

fort at Gulbarga. Bīdar was much safer, being at the very edge of the Deccan plateau, and besides was more in the centre of the new dominions than the remote Gulbarga.¹

These were probably the considerations which led Ahmad Shāh to think of moving his court to Bīdar. There are a number of dates assigned to this important event, ranging between 827/1423 to 830/1425.² The earlier date seems to be correct and there seems to be no reason why the king should have waited till the dramatic chase of the dog by the fox in order to make up his mind about the climatic excellence of Bīdar, as Firīshṭā seems to have surmised. Bīdar had been in possession of the Muslims right from the conquest of the Deccan, and was in fact the capital of the southern provinces before Daulatābād was made the political centre of India by Muhammad b. Tughluq. Surely a shrewd man like Ahmad Shāh, who must have passed through Bīdar a number of times, was bound to know what a pleasant and fertile place it was and must also have known that it had once been the capital town of the Deccan. Both *Burhānu'l-Ma'āsir* and *Tadhkiratu'l-Mulūk* are agreed that Bīdar was made the capital immediately after the king's accession, and we have additional evidence in the fact that an inscription which has lately been discovered in the chief mosque of the palace fort the "Solha Khamb Masjid," says that it was built as early as 827/1424, i.e., within two years of Ahmad's accession, by Prince Muhammad, after whom Bīdar began to be called Muhammad-ābād.³ And surely the mosque could not have been the solitary royal edifice at Bīdar in 827 H. We may, therefore, well surmise that Ahmad began to think of the change of capital immediately after his accession, and actually commissioned Prince Muhammad to supervise the erection of a fort on the edge of the plateau by the side of the ancient Hindu fortress, and when the structures needed for the reception of the entourage including the mosque were completed in 827 H., he shifted his capital. As a matter of fact we are fortunate in possessing the actual date of the change of capital, for *Burhānu'l-Ma'āsir* definitely says that the king moved on to Bīdar in the month of Rajab in the second year of his accession, i.e., Rajab 827/June 1423. Burhān does not stop here but actually names Bīdar as the

1 See K. Aiyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 5. Also, Gurti Venkata Rao, *Bahmani-Vijayanagar Relations*, Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Allahabad Session, pp. 264-271.

2 Firīshṭā and Khāfi Khān are for 830 H., while Burhān, p. 54, is for Rajab 827/June 1423. Syed 'Alī Bīgrāmī in his Urdu *Tārīkh-i-Dakan*, part I, says that the change occurred in 833 H., but this may be due to a misprint as it is not corroborated by any reference to an original authority. Rafi'ud-dīn says that Bīdar was made the capital "immediately after Ahmad's accession."

3 *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1931-32, p. 27, Report of the Hyderabad Archaeological Department 1928-29, p. 8. There are coins in the Hyderabad Museum struck at "Muhammadābād" in 827/1423 which seem to be among the first struck at Bīdar. This is the exact year of the building of the Mosque, of Sixteen Pillars and seems to go a long way to prove the theory that the capital was changed soon after Ahmad's accession. See *Ep. Indo-Mos.* and Speight, *op cit*, p. 295. I do not agree with the learned writer of the article in the *Epigraphia* that the transfer of the capital was due to the wishes of Prince Muhammad.

place where the great celebrations of the marriage of the Crown Prince Zafar Khān with Princess Āghā Zainab, daughter of Nasir Khān Fārūqī of Khāndēsh, took place, celebrations which were marked by much "music incense and wine" We are told that the "Capital Bīdar" was then full of the most varied articles of high living and that the fine arts were patronised by both the court and the people, while shops and trade establishments were full to the brim with articles of comfort and luxury¹

ARCHITECTURE

ONE of the monuments of note at Gulbarga which may be definitely attributed to Ahmad I is the mausoleum of Hadrat Gēsū Dārāz The mausoleum, with its adjacent tomb of the saint's son Syed Akbar Hussaini, is a perfect specimen of the evolved Perso-Deccani or Bahmani architecture and is built on the principles already adopted in Firōz's tomb Outwardly seeming to be a two-storied monument with four small bouquets on each corner and surmounted by a grand dome with brass finials, it is, along with the sister mausoleum of the saint's son, one of the glories of Gulbarga The arches, jambs, and spandrels remind one of Firōz's tomb but there is a simplicity and grandeur which inspire the onlooker to a much greater extent, especially as the composition is on a much larger scale and the arches on both "storeys" are simple and closed in contrast to the trellises and triangulations to be seen in Firōz's tomb The interior of the mausoleums of both father and son are grand and sombre, while the walls are absolutely perpendicular to the ground and the roof is of the vaulted pattern with ten shallow domes The saint's monument was commenced by Ahmad Shāh I two years after his death, and completed by his son 'Alāu'd-dīn Ahmad Shāh II²

There is another building at Gulbarga which can also be traced to the reign of Ahmad I, namely, the mosque built by Qalandar Khān, the first

¹ *Bur*, 57 Gulbarga was the capital of the Kingdom at least on 24-4-1423, the date on which Al-Makhzūmī finished copying out his work on Arabic Grammar there The work was *Manhal-ush-Safī Sharh'il-Wāfi*, Asafiyah, Nahw-1 'Arabī 50 It appears from the colophon that the MSS is in the author's own pen, fol 468 (b) There are two notices of the author in Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur*, in I, 312 and Supplement, p 545, where he is mentioned in connection with a commentary on *a'r-Rāmzatū'sh-Shāfiā fi'Ilm-i-l'Urūḍ-wa'l-Qāfiā*, his name here appears as Muḥammad b Abī Bakr b 'Umar al-Makhzūmī and the date of his death corrected to 827/1424 There is a fuller notice in Vol II, p 26 (and Supplement p 21) where his fuller name is given as Muḥammad b Abī Bakr b 'Umar b Abī Bakr b Muḥammad b Sulamān al-Makhzūmī and-Damanīnī, surnamed Badrū'd-dīn There is a reference here to Sakhāwī, *Daw'l-Lāmi'* VII, 184-187 He was born at Alexandria in 763/1362 and died at Gulbarga in 827/1424 Here it should be noted that neither Brockelmann nor *codices Arabici*, British Museum, 1871, Vol II, p 644 (where there is a notice of the author nor Sakhāwī mention the present work which seems absolutely unique I have requested the Librarian of the Asafiyah Library, Hyderabad-Deccan to investigate this point further

² *Rep Hyd Arch Dept*, 1937-40, p 2 Photographs of the tombs in the Urdu Guide *Rahnuma-i-Rauḍatān*, 1359 H

Bahmanī Governor of Gulbarga It is a simple structure with a double row of five arches and the ceiling superimposed by five flat domes. The style of the arches is more or less the same as that of Firōz's tomb but the pillars on which they rest are proportionately longer and the whole ensemble much simpler. There is an interesting square room near Qalandar Khān's mosque which reminds one of the Firōzābād style of architecture in that the room is surmounted not by a dome but by a pyramidal form flat at the bottom with tapering top. This was probably the last edifice at Gulbarga where style which had perhaps been invented by Firōz was copied.¹

We now move on to Bidar, the new capital of the Bahmanīs, and enter the Fort, the *chef d'oeuvre* of Ahmad I, built on the site of an ancient fortress connected with the romance of Nala and Damayanti and near the purānā Qil'ā, of which the fortifications, gunfoundry, and the reservoirs supplying water to the palaces are still to be seen.

The fort itself,² or rather a large part of it, is a living monument to the genius of Ahmad Shāh, and although there must have been many additions by future sovereigns the greater part of the edifice may safely be attributed to him. As has been related above, this huge quadrangle, three-quarters of a mile long by half a mile broad, is built on the edge of the Bidar plateau which rises precipitately on the eastern side to a height of 2,330 ft. above sea-level. The moat is hewn out of solid rock, but instead of having a wide moat the builders have left partitions so that instead of one moat there are really three, in certain places defended by scraps jutting up from the bottom.³

We enter the fort from the east through the so-called Sharzah Darwāzā built by Aurangzēb, coming to the Naubat Darwāzā with its decorations of coloured tiles and surmounted by Naubat Khānā. The third gateway, the Gumbad Darwāzā or the "Dome Gate" is the first significant Bahmanī structure we meet, for here free use is made both of the stilted arch and flat dome reminiscent of the earlier Tughluq tradition, with an apex about 70 ft. above the ground level. It is a simple structure and its most prominent factor is the stilt in the outer arch. We now pass by certain structures dating from Barīdī times and come to the "Mosque of Sixteen Pillars," built in 827/1424 under the direction of Prince Muhammad and under the supervision of Qubli Sultānī.⁴ It is called the Solhā Khamb Masjīd, as the ceiling is supported by sixteen massive pillars each more than 14 ft. in diameter. There are two interesting things connected

1 *Rep Hyd Arch Dept*, 1925-26, p. 708, the similarity to Firōzābād architecture is not noticed there.

2 *Rep Hyd Arch Dept*, 1928-29, pp. 5ff, 1929-30, pp. 23 ff, 1931-33, pp. 4 ff and 62 ff.

3 *Fer*, I, 328, says that it was in 835/1432 that the fortifications of Bidar were completed, that is to say, the building operations were going on right through the reign. This is another evidence to support the theory that Ahmad did not wait for the completion of the palace fortress at all, but moved to Bidar as soon as the necessary buildings had been erected.

4 *Epig Ind Musl*, 1931-32, p. 26. The mosque is described in "Antiquities of Bidar," 16-18.

with this mosque, firstly, there is a reservoir placed on the roof for the supply of water to the mosque and the palaces, secondly, the scheme of this mosque is more or less the same as that of the Great Jāmi' Masjid at Gulbarga, though of course on a much smaller scale, practically every worshipper is able to see the Imām in spite of there being so many pillars, and with the possibility of a free flow of air in spite of the large covered area¹ The great difference in the structure of the two mosques is that an open platform has been added here Quite close by is the structure which was formerly regarded as the courtyard of the Queen but which proved to be one of the Audience Halls when the whole site was excavated in 1929² There are further on two large platforms divided from each other by a wide roadway leading to Takht Mahal and the adjoining chambers The platform of one of these halls is 109 ft long and 52 ft broad, while the platform opposite measures 207 ft by 50 ft, the former probably being the site of the Aiwān-1-Bār-1-Khās and the other of Aiwān-1 Bār-1 'Am, or the Halls of Private Audience and the Hall of Public Audience The small platform still has a triple row of pedestals on which the pillars supporting the roof once rested, while on the eastern and western sides of the great hall are remains of smaller halls which perhaps served as resting rooms for the king, while there are traces of small rooms of the main hall which were perhaps his robing-rooms

We now come to the Takht Mahal and the adjoining palaces, which form a magnificent ensemble. It is related that when the 'Adil Shāhī, Governor of Bidar, knew that the palace fortress was soon to be occupied by Aurangzēb, he blew up the palaces rather than hand them over to Mughal conqueror, with the result that most of what must have been magnificent Bahmanī structures are now but a mass of ruins Of some structures only the platforms remain and they have recently been literally unearthed, of others, walls have been spared like those of the Takht Mahal, while others again, such as the baths and the "Hazār Kotthri" or "A Thousand cubicals,"³ still stand as perpetual monuments of the magnificence that was the capital of the Bahmanīs Near the Takht Mahal the clearing of the debris has brought to light great halls of considerable dimensions, some as large as 70 ft by 35 ft, and subterranean chambers, octagonal rooms with flights of steps still decorated with glazed tiles of myriad colours The grandest building of the lot is the Takht Mahal or the Throne Room itself, which was probably the scene of the coronation of so many Bahmanī potentates, scenes which have been described in detail by our chroniclers Mr G Yazdani, erstwhile Director of Archaeology, H E H the Nizam's Dominions, says about this Throne Room

1 The covered area in the Bidar Mosque is 2,400 sq ft., while in the Gulbarga mosque it is 27,780 sq ft, Bashīr'u'd-Dīn, *op cit*, p 135 and 504. This learned author wrote long before the recent excavations and so wrongly considers this to be a ladies' mosque

2 Probably the same structure as Peshgā mentioned by Bur, 71

3 Zahiru'd-Dīn, *op cit*, 156

"The arches rise so as to convey an air of loftiness, and the beautiful tile decorations of the façade, relieved by bands of carved black stone, give an idea of sumptuousness combined with good taste only to be found in architectures of the highest order. The plan of the interior of the room is extremely picturesque, the square form of the exterior of the building being converted into an ornamental octagon by the building of niches of elegant design at corners. Excluding the niches the room measures 24 ft. across. The view of the fort and the country around is superb, and the architect could not have selected a better site than the building of the throne room."¹ The arches are all very much stilted and this would be enough to prove the Irānian influence. The Afāqī influence will be dealt with in detail when we come to its political aspect, but nothing can show this influence on Deccan art better than the bold outlines of the Persian emblem, the Lion holding a Sword with the Rising Sun in the background, all worked in mosaic of beautifully coloured tiles, which draws the attention of the visitor as he approaches Ahmad's palace. Yet even in the manifestly Persian ensemble we perceive Hindu influence in some of the carvings of the marginal borders of black stone, which clearly indicates the synthesis of cultures which was proceeding in the Deccan. It was perhaps the grandness of this composite structure which struck Shāikh Āzarī of Isfahān in Irān, the preceptor of the Crown Prince, who composed the following lines in honour of the occasion.²

حدا قصر مسید که رفوط عظم آسآن سدۀ ار نائۀ ابن درگہ اسب
آسآن ہم نیوان گف کہ حداد اسب قصر سلطان حہاں احمد ہم ساه است

So much for the fort. There is one other monument of Ahmad I which set the fashion at Bīdar for seventy-five years, and that was the sepulchre of Ahmad Shāh himself, which is the first of a line of tombs situated in the village of Ashtūr, a couple of miles from the city of Bīdar. Although it was barely twelve years since the death of Firōz the style of Ahmad Shāh's tomb is in marked contrast to that of Firōz. Here we find three and not two storeys as they appear from the exterior, while the entrance arches on the four sides are much loftier and grander than the comparatively puny arches of Firōz's tomb. The sense of strength of Ahmad's tomb is enhanced by the fact that the corner bouquets have been considerably shortened, while the old Tughluq dome has given place to a great oval dome resting on a huge drum with a finial at the top. But more than the exterior, it is the interior and the spirit of the decora-

¹ *Rep Hyd Arch Dept*, 1928-29, p. 9

² See Sherwan, *Mahmūd Gāwān, the Great Bahmanī Wazīr*, 1942, p. 38. *Bur* 77 says that the King awarded Āzarī one lakh of Deccanī Tankās and 5,000 Irānian Tūmāns when he returned home, and 12,000 Tankās to Maulānā Sharāfu'd-Dīn Māzandrānī who inscribed these lines on the palace gates. *Fer*, I 326, says that Āzarī was given 40,000 Tankās along with 20,000 Tankās as travelling allowance. Āzarī had been the king's tutor, and was the author of *Bahman Nāmāh*, the metrical history of the dynasty. He died at Isfahān, his home, in 866/1462, at the advanced age of 82.

tions which show a marked contrast to the Gulbarga edifice. Here we see the Sufic or perhaps Shi'ah influence *par excellence*. The interior was decorated under the supervision of the calligraphist Murghis of Shirāz, perhaps himself of the Shi'ah persuasion, who has inscribed the name of the Apostle of Islām and the fourth Caliph 'Alī in a hundred ways and inserted the Shi'ite *darūd*. As one enters the sepulchre one is overawed by its grandeur and sombreness and the impression one gets is one of immensity something like the impression of an Istanbul mosque on a small scale. One finds specimens of all styles of Arabic writing, Kūfī, Tughrā, Naskh and the rest, and, perhaps in view of the comparative darkness of the interior, the inscriptions are painted in bright colours, gold, vermilion, and green, or even a brighter background, studded here and there with resplendent stones, some of which are said to be real diamonds of inestimable value. The interior of Ahmad Shāh's tomb must be ranked as one of the masterpieces of the calligraphist's art of Mediæval India.¹

The last building to which reference will be made here is the tomb of Hadrat Shamsu'd-Dīn at 'Usmanābād, who died in 730/1330. The tomb typifies practically all the peculiarities of architecture in vogue in those days, *viz*, the slightly sloping sides of the Tughluq pattern, a high hemispherical dome surmounted on a low drum typifying Bahmanī style, and the lotus emblem at the base of the dome, revealing the hand of the Hindu architect.²

OLD-COMERS AND NEW-COMERS

ALL this shows the extent to which art and architecture and the general life of the people must have been influenced by these New-comers³ who came from overseas and made the Deccan their home. The influx had been going on for some time previously, but it was for the first time that, on his accession, Ahmad appointed one of them, his old friend Khalaf

1 A fairly detailed description of Ahmad's tomb is given in Baghiru'd-Dīn, *op cit*, pp 124-126. It is a pity that the book named "*Bidar*" containing "the survey of *Bidar* monuments which have been fully described and illustrated with over one hundred colour and monochrome plates," which was promised for 1932, has not yet seen the light of the day. For the Shi'ite *darūd* in Ahmad's tomb see *Rep Hyd Arch Soc*, 1930-31, p 4.

2 *Rep Hyd Arch Dept*, 1929-30, p 4.

3 It is wrong to translate 'Afāqī as *foreigner*, as Haig has done in the Cambridge History of India, II, Ch 15 and 16, since practically all of them had made the Deccan their home, I have preferred to use the epithet *New-comers* to indicate the party. As a matter of fact most of them were as much of the Deccan as the Normans of the time of Henry I of England were Englishmen, or the Turks of the time of Sulaiman the Magnificent were Europeans. In contradistinction to these New-comers I have preferred to use the epithet *Old-comers* for the other faction, especially as they came to include the Habashis and we do not come across the Deccanī converts to Islām till the reign of Ahmad II. See Bilgrāmi, *op cit*, part I, pp 167 ff.

Hasan Basri (who had, in a way, saved his life and put him on the throne) his *Wakīl-i-Saltanat* or Prime Minister, creating him *Maliku't-Tujjār* or Prince of Merchants, a title which was regarded as one of the highest in the Deccan in times to come.¹ It was no doubt the great height attained by this statesman-merchant which was an eyesore to all his opponents and was the beginning of the great cleavage between the Old-comers and the New-comers which finally sounded the death-knell of the Bahmanī kingdom itself. Ahmad tested the loyalty of his "Afāqī" courtier, time and again, especially when he was surrounded by the enemy during the Vijayanagar campaign early in his reign, and had a hair-breadth escape mainly owing to the great resource and courage of such New-comers as Syed Hussain Badakhshī, Mir 'Alī Sīstānī, 'Abdu'l-lāh Kurd, and others. The king thereupon ordered a special corps of three thousand archers from 'Irāq, *Khurāsān*, Transoxania, Turkey, and Arabia to be enrolled in the royal army, and appointed a New-comer *Khawājā* Hasan Ardīstānī to teach bowmanship to the Princes. In 833/1430, after the successful Konkan campaign led by the *Maliku't-Tujjār*, the king conferred upon him a suit of his own royal robes and other gifts, "the like of which had never been presented by a king to any of his subjects"²

The antipathy generated by this phenomenal rise of the New-comers, most of whom perhaps belonged to the *Shī'ah* persuasion, had its first unfortunate reaction quite early, during the campaign against Gujarat over Mahām.³ It is alleged that after the campaign was over a party of Old-comers went in deputation to the Crown Prince, who was commanding the Bahmanī forces, and told him that although it was they who really fought the enemy, the New-comers got all the credit, and consequently they had decided to retire from the fray altogether. The Prince was much impressed by what he was told, and the result of this non-co-operation was that the Gujaratis defeated *Maliku't-Tujjār's* forces, and his own brother *Khumaīs b. Hasan* was taken prisoner along with many others.

Perhaps the next great influx of the New-comers was in connection with the advent of *Shāh Khalīlu'l-lāh*, son of the saint *Shāh Nī'matu'l-lāh Kirmānī*. It will be remembered that the Bahmanīs were great patrons of learning and piety and the more thoughtful of them tried to get to the Deccan those whose intellectual worth made them prominent in their own spheres. Ahmad was himself noted for his piety and for his erudition in arts and sciences, and always regretted that there was no one of any eminence in the world of learning left in the Deccan after the death of

1 This shows that at least in the fifteenth century it was regarded as an honour in the Deccan to be a merchant and to be called one

2 *Fer* I, 321, 327

3 For the campaign see below. Mahām (modern Māhum, now a suburb of the city of Bombay) was originally an island with the Mahām river to the north, the sea to the west, and salt ranns to the east and south. See Burnell, *Bombay in the days of Queen Anne*, Hakluyt Society, 1933, map of the island as it was in 1770, opposite p. 90.

Hadrat Gēsū Darāz¹ So when he heard of the great piety and learning of Shāh Ni'matu'l-lāh he began to think of getting him to the Deccan and sent Shaikh Habibu'l-lāh Junaidī and Mīr Shamsu'd-Dīn Qummī with numerous presents to him requesting him to grace the Deccan by his presence. The saint sent one of his disciples Mullā Qutbu'd-Dīn Kirmānī to Bidar instead, with a twelve-peaked crown as a present to the king. It is said that immediately on seeing the Mullās approach the king exclaimed that this was the person whom he had seen in a dream on the night of the battle with Firōz, with the identical crown in his hands². The king now sent another deputation to Kirmān consisting of Khwājā 'Imādu'd-Dīn Samnānī and Saifu'l-lāh Hasanābādī, asking the saint to send at least one of his sons if he could not come to the Deccan himself, but this time also the saint made his excuses saying that he had only one son Khalilu'l-lāh from whom he did not want to be parted, and sent his grandson Shāh Nūru'l-lāh instead. On receiving this auspicious message Ahmad sent his own palanquin to the Chaul harbour and commissioned Syed Muhammad Sadr and Mīr Abu'l Qasim Jurjānī to receive Shāh Nūru'l-lāh on the boat itself. When the cavalcade arrived near Bidar, he himself went out as far as Rāmtūr to receive the honoured guest. The spot where Shāh Nūru'l-lāh met the king was henceforward called Ni'matābād, while Shāh Nūru'l-lāh was created Maliku'l-Mashāikh, giving him precedence over all the Mashāikh of the Deccan, including the descendants of Hadrat Gēsū Darāz whom he venerated so much³. The king admitted him into the bosom of his own family by marrying his own daughter to him. After Shāh Ni'matu'l-lāh's death on 22-7-834/5-4-1431 his whole family migrated to Bidar, including Shāh Habibu'l-lāh, surnamed Ghāzī, who also became the king's son-in-law and was given the jagir of Bīr, and Shāh Muhibhu'l-lāh who was given the daughter of the Crown Prince 'Alāu'd-Dīn in marriage⁴. The king inculcated such a belief in the Mashāikh and the Syeds in general and the Kirmānī family in particular that with the first anniversary of Shāh Ni'matu'l-lāh's death he himself washed the hands of the Mashāikh gathered together for the occasion.

There are two episodes to show the great regard which Ahmad had for those from 'Irāq and possibly his inclination towards the Shī'ah doctrine. It was no doubt due to his deep piety that he sent thirty thousand silver

¹ Bur 54. For Shāh Ni'matu'l-lāh Kirmānī see Browne, *Persian Literature under Tartar Domination*, p. 463 ff. Names of envoys given in Fer I 329 are different from those in Bur 54, where Shaikh Khōjan, a disciple of Shāh Ni'matu'l-lāh, Qadī Mūsā Naulakhī, tutor of Prince Muhammad, and Maliku'l-sh-Sharq Qalandar Khān are mentioned.

² Fer I, 329, Munt III, 72.

Rāmtūr (near Bidar).

Ni'matābād, now Ni'matu'llāhābād, on the Mānjūrā.

³ Bur 65.

⁴ Fer I, 329. Washing of the Mashāikh's hands, Bur 68.

Tankās to be distributed to the needy Syeds of Karbalā. It is also related how, when a member of the Deccan aristocracy, Shēr Mulk by name, insulted one Syed Nasīru'd-Dīn Karbalāi, he had the culprit trampled to death by a mad elephant regardless of his rank in society.¹ It seems that towards the end of his reign the Old-comers or the "Dakhni" party began to be entirely neglected by the king, and his entourage became wholly composed of the New-comers.

SYNTHESIS OF CULTURES

It might seem from the foregoing account of the influx of the New-comers that there was no trace left of any Hindu influence in the polity of the Bahmanī kingdom, but this is far from the truth. We have already seen the attempts of Firōz to create a composite culture in the Deccan and these attempts were carried on by Ahmad as well.

For the influence of the Hindu culture on the Bahmanīs we have only to refer to the manner in which the 'Urs or the anniversary of the king's death is celebrated to this day. The first thing to remember is that the anniversary is celebrated not according to the Hijri reckoning but according to the Hindu calendar, i.e., on the twentieth of the lunar month in which the Hōlī festival is celebrated, and this is the date on which the ceremonies connected with the 'Urs really start. Then it is the Jangam or the head of the Lingayets of Madhyāl in the Gulbarga district who comes to Bidar with a train of about three hundred men and a number of camels and horses. It is this Jangam who enters the sepulchre every day of the 'Urs with orchestra and all emblems of royalty, blows the conch, crushes open the coconuts according to the accepted Hindu fashion, and makes an offering of flowers to the sepulchre. But mark! This Jangam is dressed as an orthodox Muslim with the cap of Dervishes on his head and a staff in his hand, and is clothed in the flowing robes of a Muslim divine. The 'Urs is attended by thousands of Hindus and Muslims who consider Ahmad to be a saint without any distinction whatever.²

Ahmad was himself a man of creative temperament and it is related that he invented a number of new designs in artillery technique.³ Bidar must have been a great place for the manufacture of munitions of war, and there is still a ward of the town named after the polishers of iron where swords and daggers used to be polished. The public of Bidar was also made to attend to manly exercises, and even to-day the city, or

¹ *Fer* I, 328. Most of the New-comers from Irāq and Irān, especially from Karbalā were no doubt Shi'ah. Shāh Ni'matu'l-lāh, surnamed Nūru'd-Dīn (*Bur* 65), was a son of Mir 'Abdu'l-lāh who was descended from the fifth apostolic Imām, Hadrāt Muhammad Bāqir. I have been told that the descendants of Shāh Khalīlu'l-lāh at Bidar are Shi'ah. See *Hyd. Arch. Dept. Rep.*, 1930-31, p. 4, where he is said to have Shi'ah predilections.

² *Zahīru'd-Dīn*, *op. cit.*, 166.

³ *Munt.*, III, 68.

what is left of it, is divided according to the four great schools of athletics and military training, although nothing but the name is left.¹

We have already related how the Bahmanī influence found its place in the architecture of Vijayanagar. But perhaps even more strange is the fact that, in one of the inscriptions, one of the copper plate grants of June 26, 1424, calls the Dēva Rāya II of Vijayanagar "Suratrāna" or Sultān. We are also told that as early as 1430 there were ten thousand Muslims in the Vijayanagar cavalry and that one of the companions of Dēva Rāya himself was a Muslim named Ahmad Khān,² facts which clearly remind us that in Ahmad Shāh's time the line of demarcation in the Deccan could not have been purely communal by any means

This aspect of life is also to be perceived in the advice which the king is said to have given to his sons when he made the eldest Crown Prince and gave charge of the provinces to his other sons towards the end of his reign. Apart from the promise which they were made to swear that they would not oppose each other they were admonished to be good to the following classes of their subjects (i) The learned, who were the possessors of the secrets of knowledge of matters temporal as well as spiritual, (ii) servants of the state, as in them lay the power of doing good to the people, (iii) royal councillors, as it was they who helped to frame the policy of the state, and (iv) farmers and cultivators, as it was they who provided food for all and sundry

H K SHERWANI.

¹ Zahiru'd-Din, 33

² Sewel and Aryangar, *Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 214, relying on Satyamangalam, C. P. Grant, and V. R. I., Bellary, 356, 18 of 1904.

IQBAL'S POLITICAL THEORY

IQBAL, as a leading exponent of Islamic thought and institutions, believed in a progressive spiritual universe, and spiritual beings with their distinct individualities realising their destiny by mastering their environment under a universal structure, founded on divine law and organisation—all organically related to one another

Iqbal sets forth a philosophy of life regarding man's vision of himself, his God and the world that surrounds him. "The Qur'ān," he says, "awakens in man the higher consciousness of his manifold relations with God and the universe" The ultimate character of reality is spiritual, and religion seeks a closer contact with reality The Ultimate Reality is a "rationally directed creative life," and an ego is a "rationally directed creative will" God is an Ultimate Ego and a unique Individual The individuality of the Ultimate Ego is emphasised in the Qur'ān by the name of Allah. The Islamic conception of God signifies many important elements such as "Creativeness, Knowledge, Omnipotence, and Eternity."

Reality, according to Iqbal, is spirit, but there are degrees of spirit The Ultimate Reality is the Ultimate Ego, from which all egos proceed "The creative energy of the Ultimate Ego, in whom deed and thought are identical, functions as ego-unities Every atom of Divine energy, however low in the scale of existence, is an ego But there are degrees in the expression of egohood Throughout the entire gamut of being runs the gradually rising note of egohood until it reaches its perfection in man That is why the Qur'ān declares the Ultimate Ego to be nearer to man than his own neck-vein Like pearls do we live and move and have our being in the perpetual flow of Divine life"¹ "Thus, "from the unity of the all-inclusive ego, who creates and sustains all egos, follows the essential unity of mankind"²

Vision and power combined are essential to the spiritual expansion of humanity. Vision without power may bring moral elevation, but no lasting culture Similarly, power without vision results in destruction and

¹ Iqbal, *Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, pp 99 and 100

² *Ibid*, p 129.

tyranny Without organization there is no progress, material or spiritual. The chief formative factor in the life-history of Muslims is the ethical ideal that Islam puts forth and a definite type of polity that it establishes—the attainment of the former is the end and the construction of the latter a means to that end. Thus, the ethical ideal represents vision and the organization of the Islamic political system means power—a combination of which secures the spiritual growth of mankind. “The State, according to Islam, is only an effort to realise the spiritual in a human organization”¹ Philosophically speaking, Islamic political theory, as enunciated by Iqbal, is normative in its character. It is concerned with a specific ethical ideal—the raising of humanity to the highest well-being both materially and morally by means of an extensive commonwealth built up on the belief in one God, whose sovereignty is supreme.

Religion, as was stated above, seeks a closer contact with the Ultimate Reality. Islam is not only a religion or a name for beliefs or certain forms of worship, it is, in fact, a philosophy of life—a complete code for the guidance of the individual's entire life—from the cradle to the grave and from the grave to the world beyond. The Holy Qur'ān lays down the broad principles of life, the details came from the Prophet. Islam is thus all-embracing in its nature and affects all aspects of human activity—a transformation of the individual, Millat, and humanity. The essence of religion is faith, and the essential aim of religion is the “transformation and guidance of man's inner self and outer development.” The goal of life is the realisation and perfection of the individual self, which depends on the development of human faculties in the right direction. Guidance is necessary in every sphere of life and Islam provides the details of law—a complete code of creed and morals, a social order creative of a polity with every institution of an extensive commonwealth. “Islam,” says Iqbal, “is not a departmental affair, it is neither mere thought, nor mere feeling, nor mere action, it is an expression of the whole man”²

Islam is, thus, a harmonious blending of its various elements in a harmonious whole, no one aspect can be isolated or considered without reference to the other. In Islam, state, Millat, Imām, individual, and Government cannot be treated separately.³ Again, the various aspects of a man's life—social, religious, political and economic—cannot be isolated. “In Islam it is the same reality which appears as church looked at from one point of view and state from another.” “Islam,” contends Iqbal “is a single unanalysable reality, which is one or the other as your point

¹ Iqbal, *Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious thought in Islam*, p. 217

² *Ibid*, p. 3.

³ حلال ناد ساھی ہو کہ جمہوری تماسا ہو خدا ہو دین سیاست سے نورہ حانی ہے حدگیری

ہوئی دین و دولت میں جس دم خدائی ہوس کی امیری ہوس کی وریری
دوئی ملک و دین کے لئے نا مرادی دوئی چشم ہدیب کی نا بصیری

of view varies"¹ "Thus, the Qur'ān considers it necessary to unite religion and State, ethics and politics in a single revelation"² Islam, in short, represents a noble ideal of a harmonious whole

In Islam, the Creator and the universe, spirit and matter, church and State are all organic to each other. A Muslim is not required to renounce the temporal world in the interests of a world of spirit. "Man is not the citizen of a profane world to be renounced in the interest of a world of spirit situated elsewhere. To Islam matter is spirit realising itself in space and time"³ Iqbal accepts the world of matter along with its limitations and establishes a relation between the world of matter and spirit. He says, "It is the mysterious touch of the ideal that animates and sustains the real, and through it alone we can discover and affirm the ideal. With Islam the ideal and the real are not two opposing forces which cannot be reconciled. The life of the ideal consists, not in a total breach with the real, which would tend to shatter the organic wholeness of life into painful oppositions, but in the perpetual endeavour of the ideal to appropriate the real with a view eventually to absorb it, to convert it into itself and to illuminate its whole being"⁴ Thus Islam rejects the old static view of the universe and reaches a dynamic view. The ethical ideal being the spiritual expansion of humanity, the Muslim is directed to secure the highest well-being both materially and morally. Islam sets forth a standard of conduct "enjoin right and forbid wrong"⁵ Rightness or wrongness of conduct may be considered with reference to its tendency to good or evil. Conduct is right when it is according to rule, and conduct is good when it is valuable or serviceable for some end. Islam is a creed of service and leads its followers to seek the welfare and final perfection of humanity in a co-operative spirit.⁶ The end in Islam is thus a perfection of humanity, and the goodness or badness of a Muslim's conduct consists in its serviceableness for this end. Similarly that conduct of the Muslim is alone right, which is according to the law of the Qur'ān. The Shari'at will tell him what is right that is to be enjoined, and what is wrong that is forbidden.

It is this ethical ideal of Islam that furnishes these basic emotions and loyalties, which may gradually unify scattered individuals and groups and finally transform them into a well-knit people called the Millat, possessing a moral consciousness of their own. "As an emotional system of unification," says Iqbal, Islam "recognises the worth of the individual

1 Iqbal, *Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 216

2 *Ibid*, p. 231

3 Iqbal, *Presidential Address of the All-India Muslim League*, Allahabad, 1930.

اسی قرآن میں ہے اب ترک جہان کی تعلیم جسے موسیٰ کو دیا یہ وبریوں کا امیر

4 Iqbal, *Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 12

5 Qur'ān 22: 6

6 Qur'ān 5: 17

as such, and rejects blood-relationship as a basis of human unity.”¹ “All human life is spiritual in its origin. Such a conception is creative of fresh loyalties.”² When a number of individuals profess Islam, they adhere to its principles and acquire a passion for it: they are loyal to Islam, they are loyal to their brethren-in-Islam, they are loyal to their leader-in-Islam, and firstly and lastly loyal to their Allah. These emotions and loyalties create the solidarity which is so essential to the development and organisation of a corporate life. This organised life is marked by the attainment of a moral consciousness on the part of every member and an incessant striving towards the realisation of the ideal.

Every organised life is marked by the existence of certain laws and institutions and Islam also provides for the same. Islamic life is lived according to Islamic laws and Islamic institutions, which in pursuance of the ethical ideal are essentially creative of social order and moral development. And this is the culture of Islam. Unlike other systems, Islam is not the name of a type of society, but is capable of transforming the life of individuals professing the faith into a well-ordered and well-organised community of moral and material well-being. The life of Islam, consequently, has a peculiar cultural force, and is distinguished by a complete organization and a unity of will and purpose in the *Millat*. “Muslim society, with its remarkable homogeneity and inner unity,” says Iqbal, “has grown to be what it is, under the pressure of the laws and institutions associated with the culture of Islam.”³ The structure of Muslim society, in other words, is entirely due to the working of Islam as a culture inspired by the specific ethical ideal.

Islam believes in a universal polity—a politico-religious system or a social polity—based on fundamentals that were revealed to the Prophet. A rational interpretation of the principles of Islam began with the Prophet himself, whose constant prayer was “God Grant me knowledge of the ultimate nature of things.” It was the Prophet’s religious experience that created a distinct social order. It was again this social order that developed into a polity with implicit legal precepts. The structure and working of the Islamic State rested on an analysis and systematisation of these fundamentals into a body of rules called the *Shari’at*. The religious ideal of Islam is therefore organically related to the social order and the social order to the Islamic polity. Islam is not a church, but an organised life animated by an ethical ideal, which regards man as a spiritual being possessing rights and duties under a social mechanism.

To Iqbal, the true religion is Islam, the best organization is the universal Islamic polity and structure, and the fittest leader of humanity is the Muslim *Millat*.⁴ Iqbal was thus inspired by a vision of a world-wide

¹ Iqbal, *Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 205

² *Ibid*, p. 205

³ Iqbal, *Presidential Address*, the All-India Muslim League, Allahabad, 1930

⁴ اے ترا حق حاتم اہوام کرد بر تو ہر آغار را اہام کرد

Islamic State of a unified Muslim Millat, no longer divided by racial or territorial considerations. The Millat is a free and solid Muslim brotherhood, with Ka'ba as its centre, knit together by the love of Allah and devotion to the Prophet. In the *Asrār-i-Khudi* (Secrets of the Self), Iqbal deals with the life of the individual Muslim, and in the *Rūmūz-i-Baikhudi* (Mysteries of the Negation of the Self), he discusses the life of the Islamic Millat and organisation.

The Muslim and the Millat require, in the first instance, a social order for their development and realisation. What is Iqbal's conception of the Islamic social order? It is a matter of ordinary experience that the development of the individual self depends on the nature of the environing society and the ideology which animates the entire social structure. Numerous factors, therefore, favour and stimulate the self-development of the individual—they are, in short, the natural and cultural forces that make up his being. Self-development presupposes a society. An ideal society can only be based on the principles of equality, social justice, and human brotherhood. The social order of Islam as a World-unity is founded on the principle of *Tauhid* (Unity of God). Islam as a religion has been a living factor in the intellectual, emotional, and progressive life of mankind. The ideal society according to Iqbal is one which is in consonance with the Prophet's conception of Islam. Being inspired by the teachings of Islam, Iqbal neither disregarded the past nor disbelieved in the organic change of human society. No people can afford to forget their past, which has made and retained their present identity. Iqbal preached the social values of Islam, and maintained that they form the best guide for the modern world. The social order of Islam is built up on the broadest humanitarian basis.

Iqbal enunciates the principles of Islam as an ideal society. The individual, who loses his self in the Millat, reflects both the past and the future as in a mirror, so that he transcends mortality and enters into the life of Islam, which is infinite and everlasting. In order to acquire a creative urge, the Muslim is directed to return to the Prophet¹—the particular life-centre—which is a source of the deepening of both the individual and collective consciousness. There is much difference between the prophetic and mystic types of consciousness. Iqbal wrote, "The mystic does not wish to return from the repose of 'unitary experience', even when he does return, as he must, his return does not mean much for mankind at large. The Prophet's return is creative. He returns to insert himself into the sweep of time with a view to control the forces of history and thereby to create a fresh world of ideals."² At another place Iqbal says, "Another way of judging the value of a Prophet's religious experience, therefore, would be to examine the type of manhood that he has created,

1 طرح عسق انداز اندر جان خویش ناره کن تا مصطفی پیاں خویش

2 Iqbal, *Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 173.

and the cultural world that has sprung out of the spirit of his message.”¹

Iqbal has based his philosophy of life on his philosophy of the ‘self.’ The real cause of Muslim deterioration is Nafi-i-Khudi, the lack of self-cognisance,² and Iqbal suggests Ithbāt-i-Khudi, self-recognition, as the remedy ‘Khudi’ is here used in a philosophical sense, and means recognition of one’s self.³ Man has a unique capacity to recognise his self and the purpose of his creation.⁴ This capacity makes him supreme over other creatures. The life of man should therefore begin with the study of his self and culminate in the perfection of his self. Khudi is accordingly, name of several attributes found in an ideal character, such as self-realisation, self-assertion, boldness, spirit of independence, sense of respect, noble idealism and action. The object is spiritual elevation.

Iqbal did not believe in a universal life, to him all life is individual in character. God himself is an individual, but the most unique individual. The universe, as an organised association of ‘individuals,’ is in a state of organic growth. Man plays an important part in this process of evolution. The ethical and religious ideal of Islam is not self-negation, but self-affirmation. The individual attains to this ideal by becoming more and more individual or unique. The Prophet said, “Create in yourself the attributes of God.” Thus, man has as his ideal the most unique Individual, whom he has to follow. The highest form of life is the Khudi or Ego, in which the individual becomes a “self-contained exclusive centre” both physically and spiritually.⁵ The individual draws closer and closer to God, until he is the completest person. Success lies in the struggle against all material forces which hinder the progress of man.” The life of the Ego is a kind of tension caused by the Ego invading the environment and the environment invading the Ego.”⁶ The true person masters the environment and, consequently, absorbs God into his Ego. The Ego attains to freedom by removing all obstructions in its way by assimilating them. Life is, thus, a “forward assimilative movement.” The Ego

1. *Ibid* p 174

2. خودی کی موت سے مسروئے متلائے حدام
ندن عراق و عجم کا ہے لے عرو و نظام
نفس ہوا ہے حلال اور آشیابہ حرام
کہ بیچ کھائے مسلمان کا حاتمہ احرام
3. خودی کیا ہے بیداری کا ثاب
نہ حد اس کے پیچھے نہ حد ساسے
4. خدا بندہ سے خود بوجھے نہ تیری رضا کیا ہے
5. ہرچہ می بی راسرار خودی اس
آشکارا عالم پدار کرد

خودی کی موت سے معرب کا اندروں لے نور
خودی کی موت سے روح عرب ہے لے ب و تاب
خودی کی موت سے ہدی شکستہ نال و بر
خودی کی موت سے پیر حرم ہوا محو
خودی کیا ہے رازدروں حیات
ازل اس کے پیچھے اند سامے
خودی کو کر بلند اتنا کہ ہر تقدیر سے پہلے
بیکر ہسی ر آثار خودی است
حویشتن را چوں خودی بیدار کرد

6. Iqbal, *Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p 143

“reaches fuller freedom by appropriating the Individual who is most free—God” Life is an endeavour to be free “And verily towards thy God is the limit,” says the Qur'an

The Ego or Person is the centre of life in man. Personality is a “state of tension,” the moment it ceases, relaxation follows. The development of the Ego is not possible without an ideal. Life is a ceaseless activity after the ideal—a perpetual desire.¹ ‘Man’ is a restless being engrossed in ceaseless pursuit of fresh scope for self-expression and realisation.² He is a “Creative Activity, an ascending spirit who, on his onward march, rises from one state to another”³ The idea of personality sets forth a standard of value—a problem of good and evil. Accordingly, that which strengthens personality is good, that which weakens it is bad. “The Ego is fortified by love,”⁴ which means the desire to assimilate or absorb “Its highest form is the creation of values and ideals and the endeavour to realise them. Love individualises the lover as well as the beloved”⁵ The effort to realise the most unique individuality individualises the seeker and implies the individuality of the sought, for nothing else would satisfy the nature of the seeker.”

The Ego passes through three stages in its onward movement towards uniqueness—(1) obedience to the law,⁶ (2) self-control, the highest form of self-consciousness or Egohood, and (3) Divine Vicegerency. The Vicegerent of God is the completest Ego on earth. The goal of humanity is a combination of the highest power and the highest knowledge. The Vicegerent is therefore “the real ruler of mankind, his kingdom is the kingdom of God on earth. Out of the richness of his nature he lavishes

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| 1 | اصل او در آرزو نوسیده است
ناگردد شب خاک تو عمار
ار سعاد آرزو تائیدہ ایم | رندگی در حسحو یوسیدہ است
آرزو را در دل خود رندہ دار
مار بحلیق مقاصد رندہ ام |
| 2 | مسافر نہ برا سیمیں ہیں
جہاں تجھ سے ہے تو جہاں سے ہیں
طلسمِ رماں و مکان نوڑ کر | خودی کی یہ ہے سرلِ اولیں
بری آگ اس خاکِ داں سے ہیں
ڑھا حانہ کوہِ گراں نوڑ کر |

3 Iqbal, *Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p 15

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|---|---|--|
| 4 | عسیٰ ہے اصل حیاتِ موب ہے اس پر حرام
ربر خاک ماسرارِ رندگی است
رندہ بر، سورندہ بر، نائیدہ تر | مرد خدا کا عملِ عتیٰ سے صاحبِ فروع
نقطہ نورے کہ نام او خودی است
ار محبت می سود یائیدہ تر |
| 5 | حسم اگر داری یا نہائمت
خوستر و ربا تر و محبوب تر | ہست معشوقِ جہاں اندر دل
عاشقان اور خونانِ حوب در |
| 6 | تاکمید ہو شود یرداں شکار
می شود ار حرم پیدا اختیار | عاستی محکمِ سوارِ تقلید یار
دراطاعت کو تیں اے عملتِ شعار |

the wealth of his life on others, and brings them nearer and nearer to himself"¹ "For the present he is a mere ideal, but the evolution of humanity is tending towards the production of an ideal race of more or less unique individuals, who will become his fitting parents. Thus, the kingdom of God on earth means the democracy of more or less unique individuals, presided over by the most unique individual possible on this earth." Thus, aspiration and passionate idealism serve as dynamic forces, which strengthen the 'self'. But, if Khudī is properly disciplined by obedience and self-control and rightly cultivated, it develops a personality worthy of representing God on earth. "It is the lot of man to share in the deeper aspirations of the universe around him and to shape his own destiny as well as that of the universe"²

The philosophy of Khudī has as its corollary the conception of Bai-khudi (negation of the self). It means the losing of one's self in the community to serve a common end.³ Individuals develop their Khudī to such an extent that they submit to the Millat, but remain animated with an intense love of action and freedom.⁴ Such individuals are a source of strength to the Millat, and the Millat exalts their position.⁵

Man is a social being, and can only live in the society of his fellow-men.⁶ The individual and the Millat reflect each other. the individual is elevated through the Millat, and the Millat is organised through individuals.⁷ An isolated individual is ignorant of his ideals and capabilities. The Millat inspires him with a knowledge of his functions in life, and forces him to be free by enslaving him under an organised social structure.⁸ It is on account of a craving for association that the individual forms the basic unit of the Millat.⁹ Out of necessity, he is a member of the Millat, he depends on the Millat for his self-expression and realisation.¹⁰ As soon as the individual loses his 'self' in the Millat he finds his personality

1 نائپ حق در جہاں بودن حوش اسب در عاصر حکمران بودن حوش است
با آب حق همچو حان عالم است هستی او ظل اسم اعظم است

2 Iqbal, *Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 16

3 واحد اسب و برمی تاند دوی من رتاب او می استم تو توی

4 فطرتش آزاد وهم بخیری است حرو او را قوت کل گیری اسب

5 فرد را ربط حاجت رحمت است حوهر او را کمال از ملت اسب

6 در حاجت فرد را یییم ما ارچم او را چو گل چیم ما

7 فرد می گیرد ملت احرام ملت از افراد می یابد نظام

8 چون اسیر حقه آئین شود آهوی رم جوئے اوسکیں سود

9 پخته تر از گرمی صحبت شود تا معنی فرد هم ملت شود

10 ردلش دوق نوار ملت است احتساب کار او از ملت اسب

an embodiment of past traditions and reflects both the past and the future as in a mirror ¹

His individuality shines in the multiplicity of the Millat, and the diversity of the Millat acquires unity through his individuality ² Thus the Millat, which is composed of individual Muslims, is required to achieve a real collective Ego, to live, move, and have its being as a single individual ³ The institution of Prophethood unifies the Millat and completes its formation under an organised system of law and order ⁴

The Islamic Millat is based on the fundamental principles of the Unity of God and the finality of the Prophet ⁵ The principle of Tauhid demands loyalty to God. God is the ultimate spiritual basis of all life, loyalty to God, therefore, amounts to man's loyalty to his own ideal nature. All human life is spiritual in its origin. Psychologically, the principle of Tauhid seeks to restore an integral unity to the distracted and torn world. It brings a new sense of courage and frees the outlook of man from fear and superstition ⁶ Despair, fear, and diffident mentality are the worst tendencies in man and destroy noble life ⁷ The remedy lies in an implicit faith in Allah and submission to His will ⁸ Iqbal thus advocates a ceaseless struggle in the pursuit of the ideal, ⁹ which constitutes real life. It is the principle of Tauhid that unifies the diverse elements and groups comprising the Islamic Millat ¹⁰ The doctrine of Tauhid carries with it a principle

1 ما نہ دار سیرت در بیه او رفته و آئندہ را آئندہ او

2 وحدت او مسقیم ارکتر است کثرت اندر وحدت او وحدت اسب

3 "Hold fast to yourself, no one who erreth can hurt you, provided you are well-guided"—Qur'an.

4 II

4 نا خدا صاحب دل پیدا کند کور حرفے دفترے املا کند

سار بردارے کہ ار آوارہ خاک را بختند حباب نارہ

درہ ے مایہ صو گیرد ارو ہر متاعے روح نو گیرد ازو

5 دیدہ اوی کشد لب حان دھد تا دوی میرد یکی پیدا سود

تا سوئے یک مدعائش می کشد حلقہ آئیں بیا ئش می کشد

6 نکتہ بوحید نار آموردش رسم و آئیں بیا ر آموردش

یم و تشک میرد عمل گیرد حیات جہنم می بید صمیر کا ثبات

7 نہ ہو بید ، نو بیدی روال علم و عرفان ہے امید مرد موس ہے خدا کے راز داروں میں

8 ار رضا مسلم مثال کوکب است در رہ ہستی تسم برب اسب

گر خدا داری رعم آزاد شو ار حیا یشتی و کم آزاد شو

9 مرگ را سامان ز قطع آرزو اسب نا امیددی رندگی را سم است

10 ملت بیضا تی و جان لالہ سار مارا یردہ گردان لالہ

لا الہ سرمایہ اسرار ما رشتہ اش شیرارہ افکار ما

of action and forms the basis of the advancement of humanity. It is not only the conviction of the truth but the acceptance of a proposition as a basis of action. "Those who believe and do good," means that no belief is acceptable unless it is carried into practice by performing duties to Allah¹

Allah is the real owner of sovereignty. The sovereignty of Allah extends to the entire universe, the whole of humanity, and all organization. Allah is the real source of religion, philosophy, and law, and the bestower of power, strength and authority.² "Say, O God Owner of sovereignty, thou givest power unto whom thou wilt and thou withdrawest power from whom thou pleasest"³ The Muslim Millat being extraordinarily God-conscious is permeated by a religious control which extends to every sphere of its conduct⁴

The extraordinary and remarkable personality of the Prophet Muhammad provides a connecting link between the various loyalties characteristic of the fundamental polity of Islam. It is this concentration of loyalties that transforms the Muslims into a well-defined unified Millat,⁵ representing a message of hope for humanity.⁶ The Prophet is the guide and unifier of the Muslim Millat. The Millat owes its being to him,⁷ and through him the Muslims are one and possess oneness of purpose.⁸ The Millat is a unified association of individual Muslims, animated by a strong desire for unity.⁹ The unity of the Millat is the outcome of the religion of humanity, which was revealed to the Prophet.¹⁰ So long as the Millat retains this unity of will and purpose, its life is secure and lasting.¹¹

1	استحسان ارعمل باید ترا	نا راسرار تو نباید ترا
2	روزارو، قوت ارو، تمکین ارو	دین ارو، حکمت ارو، آئین ارو
3	Qur'an—3	
4	این اساس اندر دل ما مصمر است	ملت ما را اساس دیگر است
5	ار رسالت دین ما آئین ما	ار رسالت در جهان تکوین ما
	حرو ما ار حرو اولایمک است	ار رسالت صد هزار مایک است
6	اهل عالم را پیام رحمتیم	ما رحکم نیست او ملتیم
7	این سحرار آفتاش تافته است	ردگی قوم اردم او تافته است
8	هم نفس هم مدعا گشتیم ما	ار رسالت هم نوا گشتیم ما
9	یخته چون وحدت شود ملت شود	کثرت هم مدعا وحدت شود
10	وحدت مسلم ر دین فطرت است	رنده هر کثرت ر بند وحدت است
	در ره حق مشعلی افرو حتم	دین فطرت اربی آمو حتم
11	هستی ما نا اند همدم شود	تا نه این وحدت ر دست ما رود
	وحدت هو ما حسن یوه الهام نبی الحاد	ه رنده فقط وحدت افکار یوه ملت

The Prophet of Islam is the last, and his Ummat is the best people and leaders of the rest. Allah completed the faith for the Muslims, and sent his last message through the Prophet of Islam.¹ There will be no Prophet after Muhammad, and no Ummat after the Muslims² The Muslim Millat is charged with the duty of perfecting the world-order and raising humanity to a higher, nobler, and spiritual state of life³ Thus, there is no Sultanate or Badshahat in Islam⁴

The object of the Prophethood of Muhammad is to establish the fundamental unity of mankind on the basis of equality, liberty, and fraternity. It was a message of human equality in social status and legal rights. God sent many messengers and prophets to reform the corrupt condition of the world. It has been the mission of every messenger to establish an ethical ideal, and a system of life having its basis in the sovereignty of God. The original doctrine was soon mixed up with polytheism, and the origin of all mischief was to impose the Godhood of man over man.⁵ Slavery was in vogue, which debased the nature of man.⁶ Muhammad, the Prophet of Islam, being the last messenger, came with the final message to free humanity of the Godhood of man. "He (God) is your Rabb (Benefactor) and your Ilāh (Overlord), who is the Creator of you and the universe. Do not recognise any one as your Lord except Him," thus preached the Prophet of Islam. Slaves were freed, social equality was enforced, and a world-conquering Ummat came into being.⁷ The Prophet taught

1 "This day have I perfected for you your religion and completed My favour on you and chosen for you Islam as a religion"—Qur'ān 5:3

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|---|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1 | بر رسول ما رسالتِ حتم کرد | س خدا بر ما سرایتِ حتم کرد |
| | اورسل را حتم و ما اقوام را | روبو ار ما محفلِ ایام را |
| 2 | یردۀ ناموسِ دینِ مصطفیٰ اسب | لایِ بعدیِ راحسانِ خدا اسب |
| | نعرہ لا قومِ بعدی می رند | دلِ رعیرِ اللهِ مسلمانِ ترکند |
| 3 | داد ما را آخریںِ حامی کہ داشت | خدمتِ مافیِ گری ما گراشت |
| | عدلِ فاروق و فقرِ حیدری است | سروریِ دردِ ما خدمتِ گری است |
| | دندہ بیدارِ وحدا اندیسِ ری | درفعاےِ حسرویِ درویشِ ری |
| 4 | مسلمانِ کوہِ ننگ و بادشاہی | خریدیں نہ ہم جس کو ایسے لہو سے |
| 5 | نا کس و نا بود مند و رپر دسب | نود انسانِ درجہاںِ اسانِ درسب |
| | ندہا دردِ سب و نا و گردسب | سطوبِ کسری و قصرِ رهرسب |
| | بہر یکِ نحریرِ صدِ نحریرِ گیر | کاہی و نا و سلطانِ وامر |
| 6 | نعمہ ہا اندر نے او حوں تندہ | ار علامیِ فطرب او دونِ سندہ |
| 7 | ندگاہِ را مسدِ حافانِ سپرد | تا امیبیِ حقِ محققِ ازانِ سپرد |
| | ندہ را نا را رِ خداوندانِ حرید | ناہِ حانِ اندرِ سِ آدمِ دمید |
| | امتے گیتی کسائے آفرید | نقشِ نو بر صفحہ ہستی کشید |

the world lessons in equality, liberty, and fraternity long before the architects of the French Revolution repeated these words Every Muslim is a trustee of the Millat, and the bond of love is the source of liberty for all ¹ The unshakable faith in the unity of God and the prophethood of Muhammad binds all the Muslims together, and this is the true Islamic spirit of a practical brotherhood The fundamental unity of mankind becomes possible and real, if the conception of Islamic fraternity is revived and enforced

The Islamic Millat, being based on the principles of the unity of God and the finality of the Prophet, is not confined to territorial limits Nationalism is foreign to Muslim polity to a Muslim the entire world is his abode and place of worship, for it lies within the sovereignty of his Allah ² As opposed to the idea of nationalism based on the accident of geographical situation, race, colour, and language, ³ Iqbal seeks to base the community of mankind on the belief in one God, and, consequently, on the belief in human brotherhood and fraternity. Iqbal was thus fully convinced of the universal spirit of Islam, which meant submission to the will of God and peace with all fellow-men A Muslim believes in one Supreme God and his Prophet and, consequently, in the universal idea of Islamic fraternity, and so cannot confine himself to a particular locality or geographical area ⁴ The Prophet's own departure from his home-land solved the riddle and the Islamic Millat was put on a world-wide basis ⁵ It is, however, surprising that Iqbal characterised Jamāl-ud-Dīn

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|---|---|--|
| 1 | برجراخ مصطفیٰ بروانہ
حرمت سرمایہ درآب و گلش
درہاد او مساواں آمدہ | امتے ار ما سوا بیگانہ
کل مومن احوة اندر دلس
نا تشکیب امتیارات آمدہ |
| 2 | صلح کیس و صلح کیں ملت است
باقہ اتن را سار ناں حریت است | هر یکے ارما امین ملت است
عشق را آرام حان حریت است |
| 3 | مسجد ما شد ہمہ روئے زمین
بررمان درحستحوئے بیکرے
تارہ در پروردگارے ساختہ اسب
نام او رنگ است و ہم ملک و نسب | تار بحشہائے آن سلطان دین
فکر انسان ب پرستے ب گرے
نا ز طرح آدری انداختہ اسب
مایہ خون ریختن اندر طرب |
| 4 | حو پیرہن اس کاہے و مدہب کا کفن ہے
نادۂ بدش بحائے ستہ ست
رومی و سامی گل اندام ماست
مر و نوم او بحر اسلام بیست | ان نازہ خداؤں میں نژاد سے وطن ہے
جوہر ما نا مقامے ستہ بیست
ہدی و جیبی سفال حام ماست
قلب ما از ہد و روم و سام بیست |
| 5 | ار وطن آقائے ما ہجر نمود
بر اساس کلمہ نعمیر کرد
این را سب تبات مسلم است
دے بونہی سو ب کی صداقت نہ گواہی | عقدہ قومیت مسلم کشود
حکمتش یک ملت گیتی نورد
ہجرت آئیں حیات مسلم است
ہے ترک وطن سب محبوب الہی |

Afghani as "a living link between the past and the future of Muslims,"¹ and spoke so highly about a person who infused the spirit of nationalism in every Muslim country, thus striking a blow at the idea of a universal Khilāfat

Islam as a world-system is a living force, and frees the outlook of man from racial, geographical, and materialistic conceptions. On the political side, Islam definitely rejects the claims of racial and geographical factors to order the loyalties of the Muslims.² No territorial nationalism or aggressive patriotism is allowed in Islam. Such a notion disrupts the essential unity of mankind³ and narrows down the cosmopolitan outlook of Islam. The national idea produces a materialistic outlook on life, and racial and territorial consciousness counteracts the humanising spirit of mankind.⁴ The Millat is thus defined not by economic, linguistic, or psychological values but by spiritual traditions and inner consciousness, derived from the immutable laws of revealed religion.⁵ Thus the Islamic Millat is further predestined and has no time-limit.⁶ The Millat has a peculiar vitality and permanence of its own, and is perfected through the worship of and submission to Allah.⁷

1 Iqbal, *Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 136

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|---|---|---|
| 2 | جیم رادیم و اریک ساخساریم
کہ ماہرور دہ یک ساحساریم | ے اعلیم و نہ ترک و تاریم
تیمیر رنگ و بو برما حرام است |
| 3 | بر وطن تعمیر ملک کردہ اند
نوع انسان را قائل ساختند
آدمی ار آدمی بیگانه سد
آدمیت گم شد و اقوام ماند | آن جہاں قطع احوت کردہ اند
تا وطن را شمع محفل ساختند
مردمی اندر جہاں اسانہ شد
روح ار تنی رم و هف اندام ماند |
| 4 | تسحیرے مقصود تجارت تو اسی سے
کمرور کا گھر ہوتا ہے عارب تو اسی سے
قومیت اسلام کی جڑ کھتی ہے اس سے | اقوام جہاں میں ہے رقابت تو اسی سے
حالی ہے صداقت سے سیاست تو اسی سے
اقوام میں مخلوق خدا بنتی ہے اس سے |
| 5 | یعنی ار قید مقام آزاد شو
رہ بحر میں آزاد وطن صورت ماہی
ارساد نوت میں وطن اور ہی کچھ ہے | صوبہ ماہی نہ بحر آزاد شو
ہوقید مقامی نو نتیجہ ہے تباہی
گمار سیاست میں وطن اور ہی کچھ ہے |
| 6 | ار اہل فرمان یریرد مثل فرد
اصلتار ہگامہ قالوا بلی است
استوار ار بحی نرلناستی | گرچہ ملک ہم میرد مثل فرد
اسب مسلم رآیاب خدا است
ار اہل این قوم ے پرواستی |
| 7 | ملت اسلامیاں نو دست و ہست
امتے محبوب ہر صاحب دلے | در جہاں نانگ اداں نو دست و ہست
امتے در حق پرستی کا ملے |

The organisation of a Millat rests on law, and the law of the Islamic Millat is the Qur'ān.¹ The Islamic Millat is to be organized according to its own distinct law.² Allah is not only the Creator and an object of worship, but is also the law-giver. The law of the Qur'ān manifests the Will of Allah. The Shari'at,³ the path of virtue or the divine code of ethical and social laws, is supreme, and, politically, the individual and the Amīr, being members of the Islamic Millat and subject to the same law, were never regarded as immune or absolute.⁴ Thus, the supremacy of the divine law is one of the fundamental tenets of Islamic polity.⁵ The rule, therefore, is that the Millat is deprived of legislative powers. The liberty of the individual is ensured through the divine law.⁶ The Millat is to submit to the Apostle, for he proclaimed and interpreted the divine commandments as His messenger.⁷ All Muslims have equal status and enjoy equal rights in the body-politic. This sort of civil liberty and the theory of equal opportunities dependent on it is the peculiar feature of Islamic politics. It is clear from the above that the Islamic system of government is not democracy of the Western type, where a law may be enforced, changed, or modified at the will of the majority.⁸

Every Muslim believes in the supremacy of Islam. Islam, in the words of Iqbal, does not suppress the human soul and the development of its latent potentialities, but merely lays down limits to its activity. These limits are known as the Shari'at-i-Islamia or the Divine Law of Islam. The 'self,' when subordinated to Divine law, turns Islamic. The self in a modern conception is not bridled by any law except the law of force, but 'self' in Islam is subject to the laws and ethics of

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| 1 | رہبر گردوں سر ہمیں جوہست | نوہمی دانی کہ آئیں جوہست |
| | حکم اولیٰ الہی است و قدیم | آن کتاب رہنہ قرآن حکیم |
| 2 | ار نظام محکمے حیرد دوام | ملک از ان حق گیرد نظام |
| 3 | اصل سب حرمت ہیچ نیست | علم حق غیر از سرعت ہیچ نیست |
| 4 | بیس ممکن حر قرآن ریس | گر تومی خواہی مسلمان ریس |
| 5 | کوں ہے نازک آئیں رسول مختار | مصلحت وقت کی ہے کس کے عمل کا معیار |
| 6 | ناطل دین ہی ایس وس | ہستی مسلم رآئیں اس وس |
| | بیکرہلت قرآن رہنہ اس | ار یک آئیں مسلمان رہنہ اس |
| 7 | سرح او تفسیر آئیں حیا | ہست دین مصطفیٰ دین حیا |
| | یختہ برار وے مقامات یقین | ورد از شرع است مرقعات یقین |
| 8 | بدوں کو گنا کرتے ہیں تولا ہیں کرے | جمہوریت اک طرز حکومت ہے کہ حس میں |
| | کہ از معر دو صد حرفہ گراں ے می آند | گرہبر از طرز جمہوری علامی یختہ کارما |
| | حس کے پردوں میں ہیں غیرار نوائے قیصری | ہے وہی سار کہیں معرب کا جمہوری نظام |

Islam. So long as the 'ego' of nations is not subordinated to the Divine law, world-peace remains an unrealised dream. The working of the present League of Nations amply proves this¹

Iqbal also discusses the doctrine of *Ijtihād*, thus maintaining a correct balance between the categories of permanence and change "The ultimate spiritual basis of all life as conceived by Islam," says Iqbal, "is eternal and reveals itself in variety and change. A society based on such a conception of Reality must reconcile, in its life, the categories of permanence and change. It must possess eternal principles to regulate its collective life, for the eternal gives us a foothold in the world of perpetual change"² "The teaching of the Qur'ān that life is a process of progressive creation necessitates that each generation guided, but unhampered, by the work of its predecessors, should be permitted to solve its own problems." This implies the right of *Ijtihād*—independent judgment and interpretation of law in the light of changed and changing circumstances, which Iqbal holds essential to the healthy development of the body-politic "The closing of the door of *Ijtihād*," contends Iqbal, "is pure fiction"

The characteristic virtue of the *Millat* is attained by adopting the manners and way of living practised by the Prophet³ The Muslim temperament should therefore be all affection, and the words and deeds of a Muslim are to be an example to be followed by others⁴ One who deviates from this path is not to be counted as a genuine member of the *Millat*⁵ True organization is based on holding fast to the ideal of the *Millat*, which is the preservation and propagation of the principle of the Unity of God⁶ Islam believes in an active utilisation of the forces of nature, thereby to gain an effective control over material environment.⁷

1 نبرد نا روتی رزم دریں نرم کہیں درد میدان حماں طرح نو انداختہ اند
میں ایں بیس ندایم کہ کمں دردے چند ہر تقسیم قور احمسے ساختہ اند

2 Iqbal, *Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 207

3 عجبہ ار ساحسار مصطفی گل سوار ناد ہار مصطفی
ار ہارشی رنگ و نو ناید گروہ ہرہ ار حلق او ناید گروہ

4 فطرت مسلم سرا با شفق اسب درحماں دمت و رناسی رحمت اسب

5 ور مقام او اگر دور ایسی ار میان معتر ما بیستی
چون حیات ار مقصدے محرم سود صابط اسباب ایں عالم سود

6 رانکہ دریکیر رار بود تسب حفظ و سر لالہ مقصود تست

7 ہر کہ محسوسات را تسحیر کرد عالمے ار درہ تعمیر کرد
کوہ و صحرا دش و دریا عرویر تحتہ تعلیم ارباب بطر
اے کہ ار تا ثیر افیون حمہ عالم اسباب را دول گفہ
حیر و واکی دیدن مخمور را دون محوان ایں عالم محور را

In order to fulfil the material needs of the Millat, the development and proper use of science is essential.¹ Thus, the socio-political order of Islam is keenly alive and responsive to the fact of change. Iqbal realises that life is a perpetual change or motion, and advocates a ceaseless struggle in the pursuit of the Islamic ideal. The Islamic Millat is required to possess a real collective ego, to live, move, and have its being as a single individual. The development of such a consciousness depends on the preservation of the history² and traditions of the Millat.³ The centre of the Islamic Millat is Ka'ba.⁴

Iqbal was not an advocate of war, and no Muslim acquainted with his faith can be a supporter of war as such. According to the dictates of the Qur'an there are only two grounds for waging war (Jihād), in the first place, in self-defence, and in the second place, for the establishment of conditions of universal peace or to enforce the regime of law in human society. When Muslims are tyrannised over and driven out of their homes, they are permitted to appeal to arms. War may also be waged for "Collective Security." In no other circumstances is war permissible. War for "appeasement of land-hunger" is unlawful in Islam.

According to Iqbal, "the ultimate fate of a people does not depend so much on organisation as on the worth and power of individual man. In an overorganised society, the individual is altogether crushed out of existence. He gains the whole wealth of social thought around him and loses his own soul."⁵ The only effective force, in the words of Iqbal, is the rearing of self-concentrated individuals. "Islam is neither nationalism nor imperialism but a league of nations, which recognises artificial boundaries and racial distinctions for facility of reference only, and not for restricting the social horizon of its members."⁶ Among the Muslim nations of today, Iqbal praises Turkey, which "alone has shaken off its

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| 1 | امتحان ممکنہ مسلم است | عائشی توسیع ذات مسلم است |
| | دو مویہائے نوگردد نظام | نار سحر قوائے این نظام |
| 2 | داستانے قصہ پار یہ | حیثیت تاریخ اے رحوں یگانہ |
| | آتشائے کار و مرد رہ کد | این ترا رحوں آگہ می کد |
| | حیرد ار حال تو استقلال تو | سر بند ار ماضی تو حال تو |
| 3 | سورتن قطع روایات کہیں | رہب ایام است مارا پیرہی |
| | ار نفسہائے رمیدہ رندہ تنو | صط کی تاریخ را نائندہ سو |
| | رستہ ماضی رار استقلال و حال | مسکن ار حواہی حیات لا روال |
| 4 | روز گارش را دوام ار مرکزے | قوم را ربط و نظام ار مرکزے |
| | سورما ہم سارما بیت الحرام | رار دار و رار مائیت الحرام |

5. Iqbal, *Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, p. 212

6. *Ibid.*, p. 224

dogmatic slumber and attained to self-consciousness."¹ Iqbal thus appeals to every Muslim nation "to sink into her own deeper self, temporarily focus her vision on herself alone, until all are strong and powerful to form a living family of republics"²

MUHAMMAD AZIZ AHMAD

1. Iqbal, *Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, pp 225, 226.

2. *Ibid*, p. 223

CHANDĀ SĀHIB'S RELEASE AND HIS ALLIANCE WITH MUZAFFAR JANG

THERE is a great difference of opinion among historians about the actual method and time of Husain Dōst Khān's (generally known as Chandā Sāhib) release from the captivity of the Marathas. We know that he was constrained to surrender the fortress of Trichinopoly to Rāghūjī Bhonsla who, at the instance of Sāhū, conducted a destructive invasion of the Carnatic in 1741, from the evil effects of which the political organization of that part of the country seems not to have recovered for a considerable time.¹ Morār Rāo Ghorepade was appointed Governor of Trichinopoly and Chandā Sāhib, being unable to pay a heavy ransom to the Marathas, was sent as a prisoner to Berar in March 1741, and was later transferred to Satara.² He was a prisoner in the hands of the Marathas for nearly seven years. Rāghūjī Bhonsla had written to Dumas, the French Governor of Pondicherry, to surrender to him the family of Chandā Sāhib also, along with their treasures, but Dumas refused to be taken in and did not comply with his demands.

When Dupleix came to Pondicherry from Chandernagar in January 1742 as Governor, Chandā Sāhib's family was still there. It was from the members of Chandā Sāhib's family and especially from his son Rada Sāhib that Dupleix came to know about his father's ambitions to secure domination over the Carnatic with the help of the French. Just after his arrival in Pondicherry he started direct communications with Chandā Sāhib, assuring him of his help.

The years following the Maratha invasion of the Carnatic brought with them murders, anarchy, and general confusion. Murtuda 'Alī of Vellore was ruthless enough to murder two Nawābs, one after the other, and escape all punishment. Being the leader of the Nawāts, he formed designs against Anwaruddīn Khān, whom Nizāmu'l-Mulk had appointed

¹ Guyon, *Histoire des Indes Orientales*, Vol. II, p. 331, (first published in 1744)

² *Tārīkh-i-Fathīyah*. So far as I know this is the only contemporary Persian authority which says that Chandā Sāhib was directly sent from Trichinopoly to the headquarters of Rāghūjī Bhonsla in Berar. Among later historians Muḥammad Faiḍullāh, author of *Khazāna-i-Rasūl Khām*, is also of the same opinion.

as the Nawāb of the Carnatic after the foul murder of Prince Muhammad Sa'id Khān, son of the assassinated Nawāb Safdar 'Alī Khān. The Nawāits had still considerable influence in the country as the chief fief-holders and Qilledars, in spite of Anwaruddīn Khān's attempts to suppress them. Chandā Śahib's near relatives held some of the important fortresses of the Carnatic at this time and their interest lay in creating mischief and trouble for the new régime. The unscrupulous Murtuda 'Alī governed the fortress of Vellore, Taqī Śahib held Wandiwash, Muhammad 'Alī occupied Polur, and Hirāsāt Khān governed Satgar. Besides these almost all other fortresses of any importance were under the refractory Nawāits, who were allied to the late ruling house in many ways. Their turbulence and secret hostility to the new régime contributed greatly to the political anarchy in the Carnatic.

Anwaruddīn Khān's appointment to the Nizāmat of the Carnatic was not even appreciated at Pondicherry. The French had been very friendly with the Nawāit rulers of the Carnatic since the days of Nawāb Dōst 'Alī, who gave preference and encouragement to the French interests as against the English. With the advent of the new dynasty the English got an opportunity of cultivating better relations with it. Naturally, this was not relished by the French who had, so far, enjoyed the royal patronage for themselves alone and had succeeded in obtaining Karikal from Nawāb Safdar 'Alī Khān, through the intercession of Chandā Śahib. Thus the French and Nawāits of the Carnatic had a common interest to conspire against Anwaruddīn Khān. It was more or less in pursuance of their common policy that they entered into negotiations with Chandā Śahib, whose release was considered essential to the successful carrying out of their designs. Chandā Śahib was regarded as the fittest person to enter into competition with Anwaruddīn Khān for the government of the Carnatic.

We know for certain that Chandā Śahib's captivity was not very irksome. He was allowed to communicate with his relatives and the French in order to be able to procure the sum of money required for his ransom. Being able and ambitious in his thoughts, even in confinement, were principally occupied with the problem of repairing his fortunes and establishing his sway in the Carnatic. Quick to discern the difficulties of his position in the hands of the Marathas, Chandā Śahib overcame them by his cunning and resourcefulness.

Rāghūjī Bhonsla had despatched him to Berar under the escort of his trusted general Bhasker Pant. Chandā Śahib remained there for three years to the end of 1744, when he was transferred to Satara.¹ His whereabouts were kept secret for a good long time in the early stages of his confinement. Rāghūjī wanted to wrest as much money from Chandā Śahib as possible, while the Peshwa, the inveterate opponent of Rāghūjī, had a game of his own in view. He tried to prevent Rāghūjī from making

¹ G. S. Sardesai, *Modern Review*, Dec. 1943.

a profitable bargain out of Chandā Sāhib's ransom, wanting to have a share of his own in it.

While he was in Berar, Chandā Sāhib succeeded in inducing certain influential persons in Sāhū's court and some prominent Satara bankers to negotiate a loan with a view to his release by paying off the ransom demanded by Rāghūjī Bhonsla. The latter agreed to deliver Chandā Sāhib into the hands of those who would pay him the ransom of 7½ lakhs of Rupees. Of this sum 4½ lakhs were on Chandā Sāhib's own account and the remaining 3 lakhs for his son 'Ābid Sāhib, who was a prisoner along with him. Early in August 1744 Rāghūjī came especially to Deur, his Inam village near Satara, in order to execute the document of debt for the delivery of Chandā Sāhib. The arrangement was finally concluded on the 6th of September, 1744, when Baburao Malhar Burve *alias* Ramchandra Malhar advanced Rupees 4½ lakhs and took charge of Chandā Sāhib's person. As some guarantee was required for his proper security, Vishwanath Bhat Vaidiya, Vithoba Wakde, and Baburao Konhar passed a deed of guarantee to Ramchander Malhar, who had paid the amount of ransom to Rāghūjī Bhonsla. Three lakhs were directly recovered from Chandā Sāhib, whose wife had managed to send the money after selling her jewellery and valuables. It is improbable that Duplex could have helped him at this stage, being hard-pressed for money himself. Chandā Sāhib was delivered to Shamji Govind Talke, the Peshwa's Vakīl at the Nizām's Court near Aurangabad.¹ From there he was brought to Satara and securely kept in the fortress by the guarantors of his loan, under the custody of the Maratha Government. Chandā Sāhib remained there from December 1744 to June 1748, when he was released and permitted to go to the Carnatic.

During his captivity in Satara Chandā Sāhib's main diplomatic activity was directed (1) to getting recognition of his claims to the government of the Carnatic from Nizāmu'l-Mulk, and (2) to securing French support for his pretensions.

He knew that Nizāmu'l-Mulk, on the occasion of his visit to the Carnatic in 1743-44, had publicly declared that he ultimately intended to confer the government of Arcot on Muhammad Sa'id Khān, son of the late Nawab Safdar 'Alī Khān, as soon as he attained the age of manhood. Anwaruddīn Khān was particularly directed to take care of the young Nawāb as his guardian. When Nizāmu'l-Mulk was apprised of the assassination of Muhammad Sa'id Khān, he severely reproached Anwaruddīn Khān for the gross neglect of his responsibilities and even thought of replacing him by some one more competent.² It was at this psychological moment that Chandā Sāhib offered his unconditional allegiance to Nizāmu'l-Mulk and proposed sending his son 'Ābid Sāhib to his court to

¹ G S Sardesai, *Modern Review*, Dec 1943.

² *Despatches to England*, 1743-47, p 22 (Records of Fort St. George)

find out the conditions on which he would agree to support his claims.¹ Amānat Khān, son of Shāh Aḥmad Khān, who was in the service of Nizamu'l-Mulk, was making his best endeavours to induce the latter to confer the Nizamat of Arcot on Chandā Sāhib.² In the meantime Chandā Sāhib had succeeded in securing the good graces of Sāhū and the Peshwa Balaji Rao, who promised him support provided he agreed to the restoration of Trichinopoly to the Maratha rule. Nizāmu'l-Mulk, who had recovered Trichinopoly from the Marathas in August 1743, was averse to this arrangement, which Chandā Sāhib had proposed to Balaji Rao in order to secure the latter's help and approval for his designs in the Carnatic. Moreover, Chandā Sāhib's anxiety to please the Peshwas must have made him suspect in the eyes of Nizāmu'l-Mulk. So the negotiations of Chandā Sāhib with Nizāmu'l-Mulk fell through, the latter could not be prevailed upon to associate himself with the ambitious pretensions of the former against Anwaruddīn Khān, the ruling Nawab of Arcot.

While in confinement at Satara Chandā Sāhib had striven to secure the good-will of the French from whom he expected aid in expelling Anwaruddīn Khān's dynasty from the Carnatic and establishing his own sway. His family lived in Pondicherry under the protection of the French Government. Madame Dupleix became an intimate friend of Chandā Sāhib's wife. Martineau believes that Dupleix did not exert himself to obtain Chandā Sāhib's liberation from the hands of the Marathas till 1745, as he did not want to put his friend Nawab Safdar 'Alī Khān into difficulties.³ But when Anwaruddīn Khān, against the general opinion of the people of the country, established himself in the Carnatic, Dupleix thought of taking full advantage of the situation by gradually undermining the Nawāb's influence and establishing French predominance in South India. But from the evidence furnished by the *Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai* we have come to know that Dupleix did not wait till 1745 to get in touch with Chandā Sāhib. In fact, just after his arrival in Pondicherry as the Governor, his fertile brain took into account surrounding circumstances and conditions that naturally pointed to the use of methods which later on he was destined to develop into a fine art. In spite of his cordial friendship with Nawāb Safdar 'Alī Khān, Dupleix had no hesitation in carrying on his machinations to free Chandā Sāhib from the captivity of the Marathas and use him as his own tool. He advanced twenty-one thousand Rupees in 1742-43, from his personal account, to finance Chandā Sāhib's affairs.⁴ This shows that Dupleix's policy was planned, consistent, and far-seeing from the very beginning, aiming at acquiring effective power in South Indian politics by interfering in the affairs of the country powers. For the realisation of this purpose no one could have been more helpful

1. *The Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai*, Vol III, p. 274-75

2. *Ibid.*, p. 118.

3. Martineau, *Dupleix et l'Inde française*, Vol III, p. 80.

4. *The Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai*, Vol I, p. 84

than the ambitious and daring Chandā Sāhib, who added to the qualities of a warrior, a power of political organization and an infinite capacity for intrigue. He would have served as a very useful tool in the hands of the French more than anyone else.

M. Cultru holds that Chandā Sāhib was set at liberty in 1745 without French intervention.¹ In support of this he has adduced the letter which Chandā Sāhib wrote to Dupleix in 1745 after being transferred from Rāghūjī Bhonsle's custody to the Satara Government, and in which he recounted the facts about his release in the following words —

"I am sure you must have been apprised of all that took place since the misfortune that befell me. So I need not repeat it all here. Rāghūjī and other Maratha Lords have promised to put me in possession of my rights. I am resolved to give them whatever they have asked for. In this manner I today enjoy all the means of their protection. Not having the funds at my disposal to satisfy the conditions of Rāghūjī, I requested Bābū Rāo, nephew of Bālāji Rāo, who is a wealthy person and a merchant of high repute, to kindly advance to Rāghūjī the sum I had promised him.² Bābū Rāo was large-hearted enough to do so. He has not only been good enough to advance several lakhs to Rāghūjī on my behalf but he is not even willing to charge any interest on the sum advanced as a loan to me. Besides he has promised to provide me with whatever would be required either as presents to the Nizām or for other private expenses. He has asked me not to be anxious about my affairs. Having obtained from Rāghūjī leave of departure I have come to Bālāji Rāo and propose to send my son ('Ābid Sāhib) to Nizāmu'l-Mulk, who seeing me so strongly protected will not fail to restore me to my rights. I soon hope to be in a position to enter the Carnatic. In this connection I should like to assure you that after all these vicissitudes of fortune, I shall have great pleasure in seeing you. Your predecessor Monsieur Dumas knew my heart and the way of my feeling and thinking about your nation. This is why we were so perfectly attached one to the other. I hope that the same cordial friendship will exist between us and that I shall soon be able to give you

¹ Cultru, *Dupleix, ses plans politiques, sa disgrâce*, p. 230

² Bābū Rāo Malhar Burve *alias* Ramchandra Malhar was a trusted diplomat of Bāji Rāo, who lived at Delhi during Nādir Shāh's invasion and advised Bāji Rāo on the lines of action suitable to the Maratha interests. This Bābū Rāo Malhar Burve was at Satara from 1742 onwards till his death in 1749. He had foreign dealings with different courts for a considerable time. He was connected with the Peshwa's family by blood relationship. Bāji Rāo's mother was Radhābai, and Bābū Rāo Malhar was her brother's son. The brother's name was Malhar Burve. But this Bābū Rāo cannot be the nephew of Bālāji Rāo, rather the other way. There is no nephew of the Peshwa with the name of Bābū Rāo to be traced. Probably the French translator of Chandā Sāhib's letter committed mistake by inadvertence. Although it is said that Chandā Sāhib knew French, he probably did not know it so well as to be able to correspond in the language. There was another Bābū Rāo, son of Vishwanāth Vaidya, a well-known banker of Satara. But he came to prominence after 1760 when he became trusted colleague of Nāna Farnavis. He was not related to the Peshwa. (The writer is indebted to Rai Bahadur G. S. Sardesai for kindly helping him to trace this information.)

proof of this "¹

According to Cultru this was the first letter of Chandā Sāhib to Duplex, in which he addressed him as if he did not know him previously and wanted to form a friendship with him. Moreover there is no reference in it to the loan from the French to pay off the ransom. And from the general tone and tenor of the letter it appears as if he was not in need of money any more. It also appears from the text of the letter cited above that Chandā Sāhib was at liberty in 1745 and was preparing to go to the Carnatic after getting Nizāmu'l-Mulk's sanction and approval. But somehow Chandā Sāhib's scheme for his return to the South did not materialize and he had to remain in confinement for nearly three years more.

Duplex also refers to Chandā Sāhib's release from the captivity of the Marathas in his letter addressed to the Controller-General of the French East India Company (dated 5th October 1745) wherein he says —

"He (Chandā Sāhib) has after all obtained his liberation from the Marathas and is now trying to find favour with the Nizām. He is also supported by the Rāja of the Marathas (i.e., Sāhū) to get the government of this province. It is desirable that Chandā Sāhib, brother-in-law of Nawāb Safadar 'Alī, be the Nawāb, we should obtain from him far different protection from that received from these new-comers who only think of replenishing their purses and owe us no particular obligation."²

On the 4th of May, 1745, the Pondicherry Council promised Chandā Sāhib a loan of a lakh of rupees to help him to become the ruler of the Carnatic, but the money was not paid to him even as late as January, 1747. The text of the proceedings of the Pondicherry Council held on 4th May 1745, is unfortunately not extant, but the reply sent by the French company about negotiating a loan with Chandā Sāhib exists and runs thus —

"Your thoughts regarding Chandā Sāhib are very judicious. It would certainly be of great advantage to the nation to help to obtain his release so that he might one day become the ruler of the province of the Carnatic" (dated 17th February 1747).³

It is noteworthy that in spite of the documentary evidence adduced by M. Cultru, in his otherwise admirable work, about Chandā Sāhib's release in 1745, something went wrong with the negotiations in this connection. After obtaining his first release in September 1744 from the captivity of Rāghūjī Bhonsla, Chandā Sāhib was transferred to Satara from Berar under the protection of the Satara Government. There he secured the good graces of most of the important personalities including Rāja Sāhū and his Rāni, Peshwa Bālājī Rāo, Fateh Singh Bhonsla and

1 Cultru, p. 229 (Bibl. Nationale, fond. Fr. N. Acq. 139) lettre de Chanda Sahib, a M. le Gouverneur de Pondichery. Depot des anciennes archives de l'Inde de Pondichery.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 230 (Arch. Col. Dossier Duplex au Contrôleur Général, 56, 1745).

3 *Correspondence du Conseil Supérieur de Pondichery et de la Compagnie*, tome IV, p. 447, No. 147.

others, and succeeded in inducing them to espouse his cause. Probably the Peshwa wanted to use Chandā Śāhib as his tool in the Carnatic but he dared not do it openly on account of Nizāmu'l-Mulk, who would have considered it as an act of hostility.

In 1747 Bālājī Rāo despatched his cousin Sadāshivrāo Bhau on an expedition into the Carnatic on the pretext of punishing some of the Deshmukhs who had driven away the agents of Bāpūji Nā'ik, who had obtained the rights of Chouth and Sardeshmukhi of the territory between the Krishna and Tungabhadra for the annual sum of seven lakhs of Rupees. Bāpūji Nā'ik was asked to defray the expenses of the present expedition and to relinquish the rights of Chouth and Sardeshmukhi in favour of Sadāshivrāo Bhau. The latter levied contributions as far as the Tungabhadra and reduced several fortresses to which the Marathas laid claim. Thus Bālājī Rāo was trying to push the Maratha conquests in the South in a gradual and systematic manner. He wanted to oust Bāpūji Nā'ik, who was a partisan of Rāghūji Bhonsla, the great opponent of the Peshwa, in favour of his own man. Nizāmu'l-Mulk looked with disfavour on the Peshwa's attempt to extend his sphere of influence in the Carnatic. He directed Nāsir Jang to proceed to the Carnatic to checkmate the Maratha activities. Nāsir Jang, while evincing friendship towards the Peshwa in his correspondence with him, marched to the Carnatic and peremptorily demanded the withdrawal of Bāpūji Nā'ik's forces from the territory south of Tungabhadra, non-compliance with which, he threatened, would be followed by drastic action.¹ Murārāo Ghorpade, chief of Gooty, also joined him with his forces. Sadāshivrāo Bhau hurriedly returned to Satara without doing much in the way of establishing the Peshwa's authority in the Carnatic. This was last of the languid campaigns undertaken by the Peshwa to extend his dominion in the South. Bāpūji Nā'ik, when hard pressed from all sides, begged Nāsir Jang's permission to be allowed to spend the monsoon in the Carnatic as he apprehended that his immediate return to Satara would bring disgrace upon him,² but Nāsir Jang insisted on his compliance with his demand. Bāpūji Nā'ik, yielding to his threats, broke up his camp and marched away.³

In these circumstances Nizāmu'l-Mulk was apprehensive of the alliance which Chandā Śāhib had contracted with the Peshwa, which was bound to give the latter the leading hand in the Carnatic. At the time when Sadāshivrāo Bhau was in the Carnatic, the Peshwa thought of sending Chandā Śāhib at the head of Maratha forces to conquer the Carnatic. But probably Nizāmu'l-Mulk and Nāsir Jang had got an inkling of this important development, and made proper arrangements on the confines of the Carnatic not to allow Chandā Śāhib to proceed further. In one of his letters to Duplex received at Pondicherry on 18th July, 1747, Chandā

¹ *Selections from the Peshwa's Daftar*, Vol. 25, letter No. 6a.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. 25, letter No. 58.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. 25, letter No. 6c.

Šāhib mentions this in the following words —

"Just as I had gathered troops to set out on my journey, I heard that Nawab 'Asaf Jāh and Nāsir Jang were already at Sīrpī or thereabouts I am therefore waiting Nāsir Jang remains, even now that Nizāmu'l-Mulk has departed for Aurangabad He has been ordered to collect the Peshkash from Mysore and the Arcot arrears, but that is all The rains have set in and delay his return I am only awaiting his departure when the rains are over, and as soon as I arrive, my power shall be yours " In his own hand Chandā Sāhib added "Nāsir Jang is ordered not to pass the Ghats, but to camp about Sīrpī and collect revenue, and he will not go to Arcot You need not fear anything from him As soon as the rains are over I myself will come and destroy your enemies like fire set to a heap of cotton "1

After being disappointed with Nizāmu'l-Mulk, Chandā Sāhib's diplomatic activity was mainly turned towards the Peshwa and the French. But by the end of 1747, the Peshwa's domestic difficulties had produced too much work for him at home to allow him to devote much time and energy to the vague policy of expansion in the Carnatic for which Chandā Sāhib's position and influence could be utilized. Moreover, he was shrewd enough to see through the weakness of Chandā Sāhib's pretensions and the difficulties involved in claiming his own prize for the mercenary help. Even if Chandā Sāhib obtained the investiture to the Nizamat of Arcot through Maratha help, it was not advisable to ignore or alienate Nizāmu'l-Mulk's feelings in the matter. And he knew that the latter would not allow his own nominee to be ousted by Chandā Sāhib whom he had come to regard with suspicion and contempt. In these circumstances the Peshwa had no reason to be particularly enthusiastic about Chandā Sāhib's fortunes, especially when, after the withdrawal of Sadāshivrao Bhau, he had no more ambition to consolidate the Maratha power in the Carnatic. Chandā Sāhib's claim that, if Nizāmu'l-Mulk refused to take interest in his case, Bālājī Rāo was determined to march at the head of an army of thirty thousand with a view to expelling Anwaruddīn Khān from the Carnatic was mere eye-wash, meant to encourage Dupleix.²

Inspired by his victories against the English in 1746, Dupleix dreamed of bringing the whole of the Carnatic under the French sphere of influence through the instrumentality of Chandā Sāhib, who also needed French aid to realize his own ambitions. Thus the interest of both Dupleix and Chandā Sāhib coincided. Dupleix, while negotiating for peace with Nawab Anwaruddīn Khān after the battle of Mylapore, was on the other hand exerting his influence to the utmost on the Marathas in order to obtain the release of Chandā Sāhib from captivity. He asked Rajo

1 *The Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai*, Vol. IV, p. 125-26

2 *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 275

Pandit, the agent of Chandā Sāhib in Pondicherry, to prepare a draft of a letter to be sent to Rāja Sāhū and other influential Maratha Lords in this connection. In the first draft it was written "If you send Chandā Sāhib, I (Dupleix) will be responsible for the money payable to him." When Dupleix asked Ananda Ranga Pillai's advice in the matter, the latter suggested that he (Dupleix) should not commit himself explicitly in that way. Dupleix agreed and the following words were substituted "As regards the amount for which Chandā Sāhib holds himself liable, I will endeavour to collect it, as your agent. I will use all my influence to ensure that this money reaches you. Without myself he would not be able to collect a cash."¹ While this letter was being handed over to Rājō Pandit to be despatched to Chandā Sāhib, Dupleix suggested to Ananda Ranga Pillai that he should ask Chandā Sāhib's wife to write to Muhammad 'Alī Khān (elder brother of Chandā Sāhib at Satara) that Anwaruddīn Khān was ill, and that his two sons, with their troops, were marching near Madras on their way to Pondicherry. This was the proper time for him to advance into the Carnatic with his army, and seize and imprison its old and infirm ruler. The Governor of Pondicherry would supply him with the requisite equipment and soldiers. If this plan was carried out with the help of Murtuda 'Alī Khān of Vellore and Taqī Sāhib, success would be certain.²

In one of his letters to Dupleix received at Pondicherry on July 18th, 1747, Chandā Sāhib congratulated the Governor on the success that had attended the French arms against Nawāb Anwaruddīn Khān, and wrote to say.—

"It gave me unspeakable joy to hear of your welfare, courage and fortitude, your victories, renown, and liberality from Jayaram Pandit who has returned after visiting you and Rāghūjī's Bhonsla gumastas. He related Your promise to pay on my behalf one lakh of Rupees as soon as I leave Satara, a second when I reach Cuddapah, and a third when I reach Arcot, together with 10,000 to Jayaram Pandit if he brings me safe there. Your kindness to him, to my family, and to my son gave me great joy when I heard of it. My affairs are already more prosperous, for Jayaram Pandit has mentioned your promise to Sāhū Rāja, Rāghūjī Bhonsla, and others. God will therefore bless you with yet more victory and fame. If any English ships are cruising about, with your courage and with a fort as strong as Lanka³ you need fear nothing. But should they fire on the town, the children and infants in my house would be terrified. Please send them to Wandiwash or

1 *The Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai*, Vol. III, p. 140 (entry for 3rd Dec. 1746)

2 *Ibid.*, p. 150 (Entry for 5th Dec. 1746)

3 The defences of Pondicherry have been likened to the mystic fortress of Lanka, which was supposed to have been impregnable. Chandā Sāhib refers to the rumours then prevalent that the English were going to attack Pondicherry in order to avenge the loss of Madras. Pondicherry was besieged by Admiral Boscawen but he was compelled to raise the siege in October, 1749.

some other place of safety out of reach of the cannon"¹

This letter shows that although the Pondicherry Council had granted a loan of a lakh of Rupees to Chandā Sāhib, Dupleix on his own responsibility raised it to three lakhs for the payment of his Maratha troops whom Dupleix expected soon to arrive and help him to destroy the English in the Carnatic. Chandā Sāhib had informed Dupleix in the same letter that he was prevented from setting out owing to the presence of Nāsir Jang on the frontier of the Carnatic. But it is noteworthy that even when the rains were over and Nāsir Jang had departed for Aurangabad, Chandā Sāhib, although nearly a year had elapsed after his communication was received at Pondicherry, did not set out for a considerable time to come. Most probably he was not free to do so, as he pretended. He only wanted Dupleix to believe that he (Chandā Sāhib) was no longer in captivity in order to make him as sanguine as he himself was regarding the outcome of events in the Carnatic.

The delay in Chandā Sāhib's arrival exasperated Dupleix and made him impatient. His faith in Chandā Sāhib's earnestness of purpose was rudely shaken. Chandā Sāhib's arrival in the Carnatic was constantly reported but he did not come. Dupleix was expectantly and anxiously waiting for his arrival when Admiral Boscawen laid siege to Pondicherry. He was expecting that the march of Chandā Sāhib's army in the Carnatic would serve as an effective diversion for the English, who confidently hoped that the loss of Madras would speedily be avenged by the capture of Pondicherry. The effect of the fallacious news of Chandā Sāhib's coming is evident in the discourteous attitude adopted by Dupleix towards the former's family resident in Pondicherry.

During the siege of Pondicherry by the English, Nawāb Dōst 'Alī Khān's wife and Chandā Sāhib's wife, when they were leaving the French settlement, were treated shabbily and were stopped at the toll-gate of Valuduvur, but later they were allowed to depart. Rada Sāhib, younger son of Chandā Sāhib, was kept as a hostage by Dupleix. He offered to pledge his jewels for the debt owned by his family to which Dupleix harshly said that as he intended to go to Europe, he could not keep the jewels in his possession. But this was a mere excuse. In this connection

1 *The Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai*, Vol. IV, p. 125-26. Similar concern about the family of Chandā Sāhib is shown by Muḥammad 'Alī Khān, elder brother of Chandā Sāhib, who was at Satara. Writing to Charles Floyer, Governor of Madras, he says — "I have been informed that your ships of war are arrived from England and that you intend to undertake an expedition against Pondicherry, I wish that God may grant you victory in your undertakings. I think it necessary to inform you that Nawab Dost 'Alī Caun's Chandā Sāhib's and Zayanel Abodeen's their Families live in Pondicherry at present and as these are of Noble Men's families, it is requisite that you should take care of them especially at the time of War. I, therefore embrace this opportunity of writing to you hoping that you'll on account of the friendship that subsists between you, myself and Chandā Sāhib, order your servants at the time of the siege to take special care of the said Families, as each other's reputations are the same in reality. I don't doubt you'll oblige me in this respect." (*Country Correspondence*, 1748, p. 54, entry for the 7th August 1748)

Ananda Ranga Pillai observes "Men say that today's action has obliterated all the good done to them since May 1740"¹

When Rajo Pandit, the agent of Chandā Sāhib, saw Dupleix in October 1748, the latter condemned Chandā Sāhib's false promises. Rajo Pandit replied that he had been hindered by 'Ābid Sāhib's (elder son of Chandā Sāhib) illness and the rains. To this Dupleix replied, 'I don't believe it'² But a few days later he changed his attitude and became anxious to write a compensating letter to Chandā Sāhib to explain away his conduct towards his family. He asked Ananda Ranga Pillai to write to him as follows —

"Your wife, 'Alī Dōst Khān's wife, and others went away against my will by reason of the troubles, so in order to get them back, I stopped your son, using my loan to you as a pretext, merely in order to prevent his departure"³

This letter was clearly meant to conciliate Chandā Sāhib, whose feelings would certainly have been hurt by the harsh and discourteous treatment meted out to his family by Dupleix in his impatience.

The passing away of the great Nizāmu'l-Mulk on May 21st, 1748 started a scramble, as much between Nāsir Jang and Muzaffar Jang, as the neighbouring powers, the Peshwa, the French, the English and the Arcot Nawab Chandā Sāhib, who had an extraordinary capacity for diplomatic dissimulation, undertook to win over the Peshwa by specious promises of profuse advantages which the death of Nizāmu'l-Mulk offered. It is quite likely that the Peshwa himself facilitated the escape of Chandā Sāhib sometime in June, 1748, without cash payment to his creditors. Although Chandā Sāhib gave promises of early payment of the loan it was never paid back in spite of Dupleix's guaranteeing the engagement.⁴ Chandā Sāhib would possibly have paid if he had lived. But this was not to be.

The Peshwa furnished Chandā Sāhib with three thousand troops before giving him leave to depart, in order to enable him to establish his position in the Carnatic with the help of Muzaffar Jang and the French.⁵

1 The Diary of A.R.P., Vol. V, p. 288

2 Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 8

3 Ibid., p. 30

4 Ibid., Vol. III, p. 140, according to *Tārkh-i-Fathiyah* Chandā Sāhib made part payment of the loan before his release

5 In his entry of 25th August, 1748, Ananda Ranga Pillai reports the contents of Chandā Sāhib's letter to Dupleix as follows —

"I have taken leave of Sahu Raja and have advanced three days' march with my army to receive Subah of Arcot. I shall proceed thither as rapidly as possible. Because of your message by Jayaram Pandit, all my affairs have been settled and I have now set out to re-establish my authority in our former capital. Everything shall be settled through you. How can I thank you enough for your help in the celebration of my daughter's marriage? My body is yours, so of a surety all that belongs to me is yours also. My son will inform you of other matters." (Diary, 254)

Thus, with the spirit of an adventurer, Chandā Sāhib left Satara intending to make common cause with Muzaffar Jang, who was aspiring to the Nizāmat of the Deccan. It is likely that Muzaffar Jang had hurried interview with the Peshwa and Chandā Sāhib at or in the vicinity of Satara, about which stray notices of a casual nature are found in some Marathi records, and about which Chandā Sāhib informed Duplex¹. But I have not been able to verify this from the contemporary Persian and other records.

During the year that elapsed between Chandā Sāhib's release from Satara and his descent in the Carnatic, his movements are uncertain and obscure. But it is certain that he proceeded slowly to the South, waiting for the communication of his friends and partisans. At the time of the siege of Pondicherry he had arrived on the western confines of the Carnatic.

On his arrival at the river Krishna he was approached by the Vakils of the Rājā of Chitaldrug and the Rānī of Bednur, then engaged in open war. Both parties solicited Chandā Sāhib's services at the head of their respective troops. Chandā Sāhib, fancying himself slighted by the vakil of the Rānī of Bednur, joined the service of the Rājā of Chitaldrug. The rival armies met at Myconda, south of the river Tungabhadra. The forces of the Rājā were routed and Chandā Sāhib was taken prisoner. The elder son of Chandā Sāhib named 'Ābid Sāhib was slain in the battle. This was a severe shock to Chandā Sāhib from the effect of which it took him some time to recover. In the suggestive words of Ananda Ranga Pillai, Chandā Sāhib, having lost his son, has become as it were a lame man."²

Chandā Sāhib was, however released from captivity, on producing a declaration of Rājā Sāhū which enjoined all the Rājās and Polligars of the South to respect the person of Chandā Sāhib and provide him with all possible facilities, on pain of incurring the resentment and displeasure of the Maratha Government. According to Wilks, Chandā Sāhib was kept in the custody of some Jemadar with whom he conspired to obtain this release. The Jemadar himself, along with some troops, marched off under the command of Chandā Sāhib who promised great rewards in the immediate future. According to Orme he was now at the head of six thousand men.³

Criticising Orme and Wilks, Dodwell holds that these writers have given us legendary stories of wars, defeats, and amazing liberations which

(contd.)

Muhammad 'Alī Khān, elder brother of Chandā Sāhib, writing to Charles Floyer, Governor of Madras also refers to his departure from Satara in the following words —

"He (Chandā Sāhib) is expected to leave this province in short time with glory and power, he having already obtained his leave from Sāhū Rājā and set out with a large force and marched four stages. By the blessing of God you'll see him in few days in the province." (*Country Correspondence* entry for 7th August 1748)

¹ Sardesai, *Marathu Riyāsāt*, part II, Vol III, p. 330

² *The Diary of A.R.P.*, Vol VI, p. 102

³ Orme, *Military Transactions*, Vol I, p. 121. Wilks, *Historical Sketches of the South of India*, p. 257

do not seem to be true. According to him Chandā Sāhib was employed in raising money for Muzaffar Jang in the districts near Bijapur out of which arose the Bednur affair¹ Here Dodwell has mixed up two different series of facts and events Chandā Sāhib took part in the battle of Myconda which was probably fought sometime in July 1748 on the side of the Raja of Chitaldrug and was imprisoned After his release he joined Muzaffar Jang and persuaded him to invade the Carnatic. In preparation for this expedition he received help from the Raja of Chitaldrug The Ruler of Bednur also contributed 2½ lakhs when Chandā Sāhib was collecting revenue and tribute from different Polligars and Rājas of the Subah of Bijapur on behalf of Muzaffar Jang² Being appointed Muzaffar Jang's Dīwān much later, he started collecting the revenue early in 1749. So in spite of the conflicting statements of Orme and Wilks to which Dodwell has taken exception, there is no inherent discrepancy in the historical facts and their sequence relating to the Chitaldrug-Bednur affair

It was after the Chitaldrug affair that Chandā Sāhib joined Muzaffar Jang³ He himself was in a dejected condition on account of his son's death and his troops were tired and demoralised The identity of fortunes and interests had already cemented the bonds of friendship between the two Chandā Sāhib acknowledged Muzaffar Jang as his overlord and obtained the title of 'Khudā Nawāz Khān Bahādur' and the post of Dīwān.⁴ When they heard of Nāsir Jang's march to North India, at the summons of the Emperor, they found it the most suitable opportunity for advancing their cause by organising resistance They started levying contributions in the districts near Bijapur in order to acquire enough treasure to maintain a large army for the invasion of the Carnatic

Nāsir Jang, while going to the North, had directed Shāh Nawāz Khān and Syed Lashkar Khān to march in the direction of the Krishna at the head of an army to checkmate the designs of Muzaffar Jang and Chandā Sāhib, if they, taking advantage of Nāsir Jang's absence, marched towards Hyderabad⁵ They both proceeded there and warned Muzaffar Jang of the consequences of his action, but without the desired result⁶

1 *Duplex and Clive*, p 37 see also Dodwell's Introduction, *A R P*, Vol VI, p vi

2 *The Diary of A R P*, Vol VI, p 109, *Country Correspondence*, 1749, p 7

3 *Tārikh-i-Fathiyah*, MS (Daftar-i-Diwani), *Suānīh-i-Deccan* (Asafia Lib Pers Hist MS No 604).

4 *Tārikh-i-Zafra*, by Girdharilāl Ahqar, p 114

5 *Tuhfat-ush-Shu'ra*, by Mirza Afdal Qaqshal (Asf Lib Per MSS Tazkira No 122), *Tuzuk-i-Wālājāhī*, *Hadīqatu'l-Ālam*, II, p 192

6 Shāh Nawāz Khān writing to Mir Ghulām 'Alī Azād from his camp at Kotikuntla writes —

"I write to tell you something about the happenings here On the 8th Rajab (14th July 1749) I reached the town of Nalanga and met Naseer Jang (Syed Lashkar Khan) Here I was told that His Excellency (Nawab Nāsir Jang) had returned to Aurangabad on 23rd June 1749 In obedience to the command I intended to go to Gulberga which is only five days' journey from here. As it was not considered feasible that Naseer Jang and myself should go to him (Muzaffar Jang), Tarsoon Muhammad Khan has been despatched in order to bring him to the right path. Naseer Jang has received reply from His

It seems that Muzaffar Jang was in favour of consolidating his position by staying in his Jagīr while Chandā Šāhib, who had his own game in view, tried to persuade him to conquer the Carnatic first and make it a base of his operations against Nāsir Jang. This seemed to be the most obvious and feasible direction for the fulfilment of their ambitions. Chandā Šāhib convinced Muzaffar Jang, who was first hesitating, that it was no use wasting time and efforts in the Deccan where the latter's authority was precarious. If he succeeded in establishing his own nominee as the Nawab of Arcot he would thereby acquire great strength and material resources for the more arduous enterprise of winning the Subedārī of the Deccan, and his success would also bring him into close association with the French, a prospect full of future possibilities. It was finally decided to embark on the plan of seizing the Carnatic with the help of the French

Excellency that it was left to his option either to stay on and camp somewhere or return to Aurangabad. I was ordered to go to Hyderabad at the head of five thousand troops. But I sent a petition per return asking permission to tour the districts to realise the dues instead of staying in Hyderabad. The auspicious letter granting permission reached here on 5th Shaban (11th July 1749), directing me not to waste time in neglect and tardiness as the issues are urgent. It was also ordered that troopers whose horses were found to be weak should be dismissed. Thus our military organization had fallen to pieces when we heard of Muzaffar Jang's departure for Sira. I started towards the Krishna on 9th Shaban (4th August 1749) and was joined by Tarsoon Muhammad Khan at Kalyan, he having returned from Muzaffar Jang's camp. He said that Hidayat Muhiuddin Khan (Muzaffar Jang) had solemnly vowed on the Holy Quran that if Naseer Jang (S. Lashkar Khan) and myself would also take an oath on the Quran that his life and honour would be respected he was prepared to return to his Jagīr. At once I said "It was all a dissimulation. He (Muzaffar Jang) is simply pretending to be the injured party in order to advance his interests and to show to the people that he has been oppressed (by Nāsir Jang)." I told Tarsoon Muhammad Khān that the Quran was my faith and I was prepared to take an oath on it. But besides this it was considered necessary to send all those articles of equipment which needed repair to Hyderabad. It was also decided that Naseer Jang (S. Lashkar Khan) should remain in camp while I should go about in the districts of neighbourhood.

"In the meantime news arrived that the distance between the army of Muzaffar Jang and that of Shahāmat Jang (Anwaruddin Khan) was not more than fifteen miles. On 12th Shabān (18th August 1749) I set off from Chinchauli in order to cross the Krishna. But on 16th Shabān (22nd July 1749) the war (between Muzaffar Jang and Anwaruddin Khan) was already over. But as we had no knowledge of this we proceeded by forced marches over heavy and sodden ground caused by severe rain and mud and reached Gurmatkal. Here we were apprised of the destined circumstances ordained by Divine decree. In the meantime several letters from His Excellency were received ordering us to hasten to the aid of Shahāmat Jang. Although these orders were not the result of sagacity and prudence and difficulties of the situation were repugnant to its observance, yet in the condition of servitude it is incumbent to obey and we, as far as lay in our power, advanced with all expedition towards the Krishna. Obviously no aid could be sent from here as it was too late.

"Now Bahādur Khān at the head of two thousand troops has joined 'Abdun-Nabī Khān, the latter has not got more than seven hundred cavalry. The orders are that I should resist if Muzaffar Jang proceeds towards Cuddapah. In this regard the anxiety of relatives (of Nāsir Jang) is justified, firstly because they themselves do not seem to be of one mind and all sorts of rumours are afloat, and secondly because the force consisting of one thousand and five hundred men is inadequate, especially when the horses have become useless on account of incessant rains. Moreover the troopers are disheartened on account of the orders regarding the horses, and as they have heard that there was going to be tough

Nāsir Jang's absence provided the most suitable opportunity to fall upon Anwaruddīn Khan. Events seemed at first to favour their audacious speculation. Before starting for the Carnatic Muzaffar Jang granted a Sanad to Chandā Sāhib as Nawab of Arcot, Gingee, Tanjore, Trichinopoly, and Madura with their territories and forts therein. A covered Palanquin, a sword, and a dress of honour were also bestowed on him.¹

Before undertaking the Carnatic expedition Chandā Sāhib sent an embassy to Duplex towards the end of February, 1749, and entered into an agreement with him to the effect that he would take into his pay a body of two thousand French soldiers and grant the French the neighbouring district of Villiyannallur as Jagir, which they had long been asking from Nāsir Jang in exchange for Madras.²

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fighting, everyone desired to be dismissed. If the horses of any one of them are drowned in the crossing of the Krishna, they will have to pay the price. In these circumstances it has been decided that we should camp at some place about twenty miles from Hyderabad till the end of the monsoon. In view of the developments that are taking place and after hearing of the martyrdom of Shahāmat Jang, it is but right and proper that His Excellency should set out from Aurangabad after a week and camp at Dharur where the armies from different parts may join him. The equipment that was not ready might be sent to Dharur. Now there is no time to be lost. If His Excellency had set out in this direction just after his accession to power, he (Muzaffar Jang) had none to support him. He would have been compelled to submit and join service. His Excellency's going to the North created lot of confusion and mischief. A country like the Carnatic and a leader like Anwaruddīn Khan have been lost. In these circumstances it is the plain duty of those who like me are in the list of loyal servants, and like you who have relations of cordial friendship and love, to let His Excellency know explicitly that he should neither rely on the Afghans and their army nor on leaders like Ramchandra Rao and Janoji, but should himself come forward to chastise the rebel. With the grace of the Almighty none would dare face His Excellency. It is also essential to create regard and reverence in the heart of the people, especially in the hearts of the soldiers, who, on account of their meagre emoluments of thirty or forty Rupees and the successive promises of better prospects given them, are discontented and impatient of discipline." (*Makātib-i-Shāh Nawāz Khān*, Asafia Lib.)

1. *The Diary of A.R.P.*, Vol. VI, p. 124

2. At the accession of Nāsir Jang Duplex wrote to Imām Sāhib about procuring the grant of the two districts of Valudavur and Villiyannallur in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry. The letter runs thus —

"I have written letter of congratulations to Nasir Jang as you desire. Since you understand all things decide the amount which should be given as a Nazar and I will give it to your son here. I wrote to you to procure grant of the two districts of Valudavur and Villiyannallur as a Jagir. You replied that you would speak about it to Nasir Jang and let me know the result. Nizāmu'l-Mulk is dead, and Nasir Jang formerly promised to speak to his father and settle the matter, but now by God's grace Nasir Jang enjoys full authority to make the grant itself." (*The Diary of A.R.P.*, Vol. V, p. 109). Duplex had first urged Imām Sāhib to obtain the Parwana from Nāsir Jang for the grant of the above-mentioned Districts in April 1747 (*A.R.P.*, Vol. IV, p. 72).

THE INFLUENCE OF THE SLAVES IN THE MUSLIM ADMINISTRATION OF INDIA

THE infant Muslim State in India would not have survived the threat of Mongol invasions and the dangers of internal revolts if vigour has not been infused into the administration by the unique institution of the 'slave system'. Slavery as it prevailed in the Roman and Greek empires had an evil odour about it. It meant denial of freedom and degradation of human labour. The slaves were aliens; as 'living tools' they were subject to the will of others. They were dedicated to 'illiberal' forms of toil and they were an entirely different order from the freemen. But the 'slave system' as devised by the early Muslim rulers of India proved to be a beneficial institution because slaves were not regarded as 'chattels,' men without any rights, but were treated with great consideration. Paradoxical as it may appear, the slave system enshrined the principle of equality. Muslim society was supple and vigorous because it tried to achieve the high ideal of 'social equality'. Theoretically the slave was the property of his master, but in actual practice he was treated as a member of the family. The equalitarian nature of Muslim society is well illustrated by a story of Sultān Mahmūd. Mahmūd loved the sister of his slave Ayāz. He consulted his friend Abū Nasr Mīshkānī as to whether it would not lower him in the eyes of the public if he married a slave girl. Abū Nasr replied, "Many cases similar to this have occurred. Several kings of the Samānian dynasty married their own slave girls. This act will not seem to the world to be derogatory to the king's honour and rectitude. Perhaps Your Majesty is unaware that Qubād, at the time when he went to Turkistan, took as his wife the daughter of a villager, from whom was born Naushīrwān. In Persian history I have also read that Bahrām Gūr married a washerman's daughter."¹ The slave was indeed not looked down upon but was treated generously. Thus when Qutb-ud-Dīn was purchased as a slave by Qādī Fakhr-ud-Dīn, he read the Qur'ān with the Qādī's sons and acquired the polite arts.² Balban was purchased as a slave by Khwāja Jamāl-ud-Dīn of Basra. The Khwāja used to "foster

1 Elliot and Dowson, Vol II, 184.

2 *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, 41.

him in the hall of his kindness like a son¹ Qutb-ud-Dīn gave the title of son to Iltutmish and honoured him by keeping near his own person² Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn Aetkin, originally a slave, became a powerful noble and espoused the sister of Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn Bahram Shāh³ One daughter of Yaloz was married to Qutb-ud-Dīn and the other to Qubacha⁴ "Social equality" in fact proved to be the secret of the success of this institution Muslim society was organised on the basis of equality, it did not emphasise the principle of segregation and exclusiveness Not only were the slaves treated generously, they were given opportunities of progress Muslim society retained its vigour and energy because power was not concentrated in the hands of a few families Men of humble ranks in life forged ahead and came to shoulder the responsibilities of State It was due to the vigour and energy displayed by men of remarkable ability—Qutb-ud-Dīn, Iltutmish and Balban—who began their career as slaves, that the Muslim empire in India was strengthened The 'Forty' played an important part in consolidating the Muslim power.

The origin of the institution was due to the exigencies of the time To concentrate the government of a large area under one ruler was a matter of endless difficulty, especially in those days of slow communications The regional commanders and provincial governors enjoyed a very large measure of autonomy and were frequently tempted to conspire against or defy the Sultān In the court of the Sultān itself, powerful nobles stood jealously ready to seize the throne when occasion arose It was necessary therefore for the Sultān to gather around him men of administrative experience and of tried loyalty The slave was faithful to his master If generously treated the slave would be ready to lay down his life for his master Hence it was in the interest of the Sultāns to win over the slaves and retain their loyalty by kind treatment It was Muhammad Ghori who realised the significance of this institution When a courtier expressed concern at the fact that Muhammad Ghori had no sons, the Sultān replied, "I have many sons in my Turkish slaves, they will inherit my lands and continue the Khutba in my name when I am dead and gone"⁵ That the Sultāns attached much importance to the selection of the right type of slaves is clear from the high price which they sometimes paid for really brave, enterprising, and intelligent slaves Iltutmish purchased Qamr-ud-Dīn Kiranī-Tamur for the sum of 50,000 Sultānī dirhams⁶ Jamāl-ud-Dīn Chishtī wanted to sell Iltutmish for 1,000 Ruknī dinars to Muhammad Ghori The Sultān considered the price to be unusually high and ordered that no one should purchase Iltutmish But as in those days no Turkish lad of a more handsome appearance and with greater intelligence had come to Ghazni, Qutb-ud-Dīn Aibak prevailed upon the Sultān to revoke his order in his favour Qutb-ud-Dīn was permitted

¹ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, 281

² *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, 57

³ *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, 253

⁴ *Ibid*, 133

⁵ *Ibid*, 132

⁶ *Ibid*, (Raverty) 722

to purchase the slave Iltutmish not at Ghazni but at Delhi.¹ Thus ultimately the high price demanded for Iltutmish had to be paid. As the services of the really enterprising and intelligent slaves were highly in demand, it became a regular business to find out the best slaves and to give them proper education and training and then to sell them to the Sultān or to eminent nobles. The slaves selected were not like the Negro slaves purchased by the Europeans for manual labour, some of them really belonged to noble families, but on account of the disturbed conditions created by Mongol conquests had been captured as slaves. The father of Iltutmish, Islām Khān, was the chief of a group of the tribes of Turkistan. His brothers or nephews, owing to the jealousy and hatred which they bore him in his youth, took him like Yūsuf to some gardens and fields for amusement, and there sold him by force to a merchant.² The father of Balban was a Khān of about 10,000 families of the tribe of Ilbari in Turkistan.³ When Balban and his younger brother (who later on rose to the position of a Malīk and was known as Malīk Saif-ud-Dīn Ibak-i-Kashli) decamped before the Mongols, on their way was a marshy ground and the younger brother fell out of the waggon in which he was riding, into the mud, and no one had the power to take him out of the quagmire because the Mongols were at their heels. They urged forward their waggons and he remained in the same place. Ulugh Khān returned to the spot where his little brother was and took him up. A second time the Mongols came up behind them, and they fell into the hands of the Mongols and were sold as slaves.⁴ Malīk Nusrat-ud-Dīn Sher Khān was the cousin of Balban, his father was also a person of importance in Turkistan.⁵ Malīk Tāj-ud-Dīn Arslān Khān was one among the sons of the Khwārizm Amīrs in the territory of Syria and Egypt and had been carried away captive from these parts and sold as a slave.⁶ The household officers of the Sultān were mainly recruited from his slaves. A careful study of the career of the slaves who rose into importance and played a conspicuous part in the history of India throws a flood of light on the various gradations of official rank in the bureaucracy. The slaves were first given minor offices, but if they impressed the Sultān by their ability, they were promoted to the higher posts and might rise to the highest rank in life, and if they were men of exceptional ability they could even get a chance of shouldering the responsibilities of State. The chief dignitary of the household was the Wakīl-i-Dār, who controlled the entire household and supervised the payment of allowances and salaries to the sovereign's personal staff. The royal kitchen, the Sharāb Khāna, the stables and even the royal children were under his care.⁷ Two slaves, Malīk Saif-ud-Dīn Khān Bat Khān Ibak and Tāj-ud-Dīn Arslān rose to this eminent position.⁸ Of equal importance was the rank of Amīr-i-Hājib. He was the master of

1 *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, 56-57 2 *Ibid.*, 56 3 *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, 281 4 *Ibid.*, 279 5 *Ibid.*, 276
6 *Ibid.*, 265 7 *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, by Dr I. H. Qureshi, p. 57 8 *Ibid.*, 259

ceremonies at the court, it was his duty to marshall the nobles and the officials in accordance with the precedence of their rank and to safeguard the dignity of all royal functions. All petitions were presented to the Sultān through the Amīr-i-Hājib. His post therefore commanded great prestige and was generally reserved for princes of royal blood or the Sultān's most trusted nobles.¹ Badr-ud-Dīn Sankar-i-Rūmī, a slave of Ilutmiş, became Amīr-i-Hājib.² Balban's brother Malik Saif-ud-Dīn Aibak also occupied this eminent post.³ The Sultāns had also a number of picked soldiers called Jandars who acted as their bodyguard, only tall, handsome, brave, young men of imposing physique were chosen to serve in this capacity. It was their duty to be present on all occasions when the Sultān appeared in public. The Jandars were generally slaves of proved loyalty and were commanded by a trustworthy noble who was styled Sar Jandar.⁴ Almost all the distinguished slaves who rose into importance enjoyed the privilege of serving as Sar Jandar. Tāj-ud-Dīn Sanjar Kurel Khān (who was noted for his gallantry) and Saif-ud-Dīn Bat Khān served as Sar Jandar.⁵ The Akhurbek or the superintendent of the royal horses was one of the most important officials of the household. It was the ambition of every brave and intelligent slave to obtain this coveted post because, after serving in this post for some time with distinction, the incumbent of the office was invariably posted as commander of a local area. Almost all the slaves who became Maliks of importance were given this post—Tāj-ud-Dīn Sanjar Tēz Khān,⁶ 'Izz-ud-Dīn Tughril Khān,⁷ Qamr-ud-Dīn Kīran,⁸ etc. The Amīr-i-Majlis was responsible for organising the Sultān's private parties, where the Sultān met his friends. Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn Yūz Bak Tughril Khān acted as Amīr-i-Majlis.⁹ An important officer called Amīr-i-Shukār was the 'grand huntsman', Balban served in this capacity.¹⁰ An important officer associated with justice was the Amīr-i-Dād. In the absence of the Sultān the Amīr-i-Dād presided over the court of Mazālim; in the monarch's presence he was responsible for its executive and administrative business.¹¹ Malik Saif-ud-Dīn Aibak acted as Amīr-i-Dād.¹² There were a number of minor offices which were filled by the slaves. 'Izz-ud-Dīn Tughril Khān¹³ and Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn Karakash¹⁴ began their career as cup-bearers. Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn Altūniya was appointed to the office of Sharābdār.¹⁵ Badr-ud-Dīn Sankar-i-Rūmī served as Tashtdār¹⁶ (ewer-bearer), Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn Yūz Bak Tughril Khān served as Nāib Chāshnīgīr.¹⁷ (deputy comptroller of the royal kitchen).

1 *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, by Dr I. H. Qureshi, 59

2 *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsrī* 255 3 *Ibid*, 279 4 *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, by Dr I. H. Qureshi, p. 61

5 *Nāsrī*, 258 and 259 6 *Ibid*, 260 7 *Ibid*, 242 8 *Ibid*, 247 9 *Ibid*, 261 10 *Ibid*, 285.

11 *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, by Dr I. H. Qureshi, 153

12 *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsrī* 276 13 *Ibid*, 242 14 *Ibid*, 250 15 *Ibid*, 251 16 *Ibid*, 254.

17 *Ibid*, 261

The slaves climbed from the lowest rung of the ladder, thus gaining valuable administrative experience. Some of the distinguished slaves were trained to occupy a throne. It was a hard school, but no king had a better. It brought them face to face with realities. They saw the meaning of duty and discipline and entered into the life of the common people. They owed this advantage to the fact that they had the good fortune not to be born heirs to the throne.

The qualities which led to the promotion of slaves were of a varied nature. The early Muslim rulers of India and their nobility were military adventurers and hence courage, bravery, determination and loyalty were amply rewarded. Tāj-ud-Dīn Sanjar-i-Kure't Khān was a gallant soldier. He was a Turk of great manhood, courage, and energy, and among warriors, in warlike accomplishments he was peerless in all the ranks of the army of Islam while in horsemanship and skill in arms he had no equal. For example, he would have two horses under saddle, one of which he would ride and the other he would lead after him, and thus he used to dash on, and, while the horses were galloping, he would leap from this horse to that with agility, so that, during a gallop, he used several times to mount two horses. In archery he was so skilful that no enemy in battle and no animal in the chase could escape his arrow. He never used to take along with him into any Shikargah either leopard, hawk, or sporting dog; he brought down all with his own arrow, and in every fastness in which he imagined there would be game he would be in advance of the whole of his retinue.¹ Enterprising slaves of this type generally rose to be Sar Jandars. When Muhammad Ghori came to India to struggle with the Khokhars, Iltutmish joined Qutb-ud-Dīn with the army of Badaun. In the battle of Iltutmish, who, in the matter of bravery and valour, had become one of the greatest of the age, rode into the water in the full panoply of war and attacked the enemy. Muhammad Ghori noted his great bravery and energy, sent for him and distinguished him with rewards and royal favours.² Good looks, ready wit and engaging manners were passports to success for such posts as those of Amīr-i-Maylis, Sāqī and also Sar Jandar. 'Izz-ud-Dīn Tughril Khān,³ Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn Aet Khān⁴ and Qamr-ud-Dīn Kīran⁵ were noted for their good looks. The polished manners of a courtier were as necessary as good looks or martial bearing. Liberal entertainment of their masters and those who were in power was one of the means of success. Tāj-ud-Dīn Yalduz was a slave of Muhammad Ghori. He was made the Amīr of Kirmān. Whenever the Sultān in the course of his expeditions into India passed through Kirmān, Malīk Tāj-ud-Dīn feasted all the nobles and made presents to them of one thousand robes and one thousand caps and he conferred gifts on every individual of the Sultān's retinue in accordance with his condition.⁶ The same policy was followed with success by Qutb-ud-

¹ Nāṣiri, 258

² Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbari, 64.

³ Nāṣiri, 242

⁴ Ibid., 252

⁵ Ibid., 247

⁶ Akbari, 46

Din Muhammad Ghori gave liberal gifts to Qutb-ud-Din who bestowed these in the shape of rewards on those who spread the carpets and arranged the furniture and on other menials. Muhammad Ghori heard about it and honoured Qutb-ud-Din.¹ Even in that rough but vigorous society of military adventures, men of piety were honoured. Hindu Khān was a man of exceedingly good disposition and of exemplary conduct. Throughout the reigns of Iltutmish and Radiya he was honoured and esteemed. He held the office of Treasurer. All the slaves of Iltutmish who attained offices in the State and positions of greatness were objects of his regard and affection, and they too looked upon him as a kind of loving father.² Malik Saif-ud-Din acted as Amir-i-Dād. He was thoroughly honest. He did not extort the customary fees at the rate of ten or fifteen per cent, which other Chief Justices before him had imposed.³

The slave system was thus a great source of strength to the Muslims, and the advantages of the system have been well explained by Lane-Poole — "While a brilliant ruler's son is apt to be a failure, the slaves of a real leader of men have often proved to be equals of their master. The reason of course is that the son is a mere speculation. He may or may not inherit his father's talents, even if he does, the very success and power of the father creates an atmosphere of luxury that does not encourage effort, and good or bad, the son is an immovable fixture, only a father with an exceptional sense of public duty would execute an incompetent son to make room for a talented slave. On the other hand the slave is the 'survival of the fittest', he is chosen for physical and mental abilities, and he can hope to retain his position in his master's favour only by vigilant effort and hard service. Should he be found wanting, his fate is sealed."⁴ Gibbon has summed up the history of Asiatic dynasties as "one unceasing round of valour, greatness, discord, degeneracy and decay." The hereditary succession to the throne was very faulty. Capable rulers were followed by weak successors and the empires were lost. The mighty empire founded by the valour of Mahmūd was whittled away into pieces by the folly of his successors. Ranjit Singh was followed by Kharak Singh and other weak successors and the Sikh kingdom was destroyed. There were however two exceptions to this general rule. The first six Mughal emperors were exceptionally able rulers, similarly the first four Peshwas. Otherwise the hereditary succession was weighed in the balance and found wanting. The opposite principle was enunciated by Napoleon in Europe as "careers open to talents." Napoleon's marshalls,—Ney, Murat, Soult, Junot—all rose to high positions from humble ranks. This was the principle followed by the early Muslim conquerors in India. It took the form of the slave system. It was rather fortunate that Muhammad Ghori had no son and therefore took great interest in some of his able slaves who distinguished themselves under his patronage. Qutb-ud-Din helped his

1 Akbari, 43

2 Nāṣiri, 248

3 Ibid., 275

4 *Medieval India*, Lane-Poole 64.

master Muhammad Ghori in his conquests of India. He conquered Hansi, Meerut, Delhi, Panthambor, and Nehrwalla. His able lieutenant, Muhammad ibn Bakhtiyār Khilji, conquered Bengal and Bihar. If Ghori had been succeeded by an incompetent son, ten to one he would not have been able to consolidate the Muslim power in India. Qutb-ud-Dīn was succeeded by his incompetent son, Arām. Fortunately Iltutmish, a capable slave of Qutb-ud-Dīn, ousted him from power. The infant Muslim State in India was in great danger at that time from the Mongol invasions. Chingiz followed Jalāl-ud-Dīn Khwārizm Shāh and defeated him on the bank of the Indus.¹ Jalāl-ud-Dīn crossed the Indus and allied himself with the Khokhar chief.² All the pro-Mongol writers acclaim Jalāl-ud-Dīn as a very great warrior. Fortunately Iltutmish was the Sultān of Delhi and Jalāl-ud-Dīn did not dare to come into conflict with him and returned to Ballala and Nikala.³ We can very well imagine what must have been the fate of the Muslim empire of Delhi if Arām had been the Sultān. Further, Turti the Mongol commander captured Nandanah and besieged Multan. Moreover the Mongol commander Chughtā'i's army wintered in Kalinjar. Chingiz himself had halted for some time on the bank of the Indus. We can again very well imagine that if a weak ruler had been on the throne of Delhi, the Mongols would have been tempted to destroy the Muslim power in India. Iltutmish not only established his authority over his rivals Yalduz and Qubacha but also asserted his power in Bengal and Gwalior, Malwa and Ujjain. Thus Iltutmish consolidated the Muslim power in India at a critical time. After the death of Iltutmish the hereditary succession prevailed for some time, and we learn from Baranī that there was anarchy and confusion. Fortunately another slave, Balban, came into power and saved the infant Muslim State from Mongol attacks and Hindu revolts. When the Mongol leader Mangutah laid siege to Uch, it was Balban who with energy marched at the head of an army, compelling Mangutah to raise the siege.⁴ Shēr Khān was put in charge of the frontier districts of Sunam, Lahore and Dīpalpur. According to Baranī he several times routed the Mongols.⁵ But the pressure of Mongol attacks increased and Prince Muhammad was defeated and killed.⁶ If Balban, an intrepid warrior, held his own with difficulty against the Mongols, we can very well imagine what must have been the fate of the Delhi empire if one of the incompetent sons of Iltutmish had been on the throne. Baranī has very clearly brought out how by his policy of blood and iron Balban succeeded in restoring order by suppressing the Mewatis, the Khokhars and the rebels of Katehr. He also suppressed the formidable Bengal rebellion. Thus it stands to reason that but for the slave system, the infant Muslim State in India would have succumbed to internal anarchy and external Mongol attacks.

Besides these slaves who rose to be the Sultāns of Delhi, others became

1 *Tārīkh-i-Jahān-Gusha*, Juwayni, 141 2 *Ibid.*, 145 3 *Ibid.*, 145

4 *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri* p. 288 5 Baranī, p. 65, 6 Akbarī, 96

Maliks of importance and played an important part in consolidating the Muslim power in India. Malik Shēr Khān held the fiefs of Sunam, Lahore and Dipalpur in the reign of Balban. Baranī makes a very sweeping statement about the achievements of Shēr Khān. He asserts that Shēr Khān kept a large, well-organised and efficient army in his service and that he had many a time fallen upon the Mongols, crushed and dispersed them, and caused the Khutba to be read for Sultān Nāsir-ud-Dīn at Ghazni, and that because of his vigilance, strength, and valour, it was impossible for the Mongols to prowl around the frontiers of Hindustan.¹ This statement Major Raverty has severely criticised. He says that what actually happened was that Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, the deputy of Shēr Khān in Multan, merely captured many Mongol prisoners and sent them to Delhi. The reference to the Khutba's being read in Ghazni may be an exaggeration, but the whole statement of Baranī cannot be dismissed as fantastic. The statement does contain an element of truth namely that Shēr Khān held his own against the Mongols. Malik Nusrat Khān Badr-ud-Dīn held the fiefs of Tabrindah and Sunam, Jhejhar and Lakhwal and he performed distinguished services by guarding the frontier against Mongol attacks.² Malik Qamr-ud-Dīn Qirān-i-Taimūr held the fief of Oudh. In that part, as far as the frontier of the Tirhut territory, he performed great deeds and obtained possession of vast booty and compelled the Raes and Ranas and independent tribes of that country to pay him tribute.³ Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn Tughril-i-Tughān Khān held the fief of Lakhnauti. He made an inroad into the country of Tirhut from Lakhnauti, and acquired much valuable booty.⁴ Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn Sanjar-i-Tēz Khān led successful expeditions against Mewat.⁵

The demerit of the slave system was that it encouraged a party spirit among the various slaves who did not readily submit to any one of their fellow-slaves when he became a king. The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsiri* gives many illustrations of this tendency. Iltutmish had to exert himself to bring under control his rivals (slaves) Yaloz and Aubacha. The accounts of the invasions of Changēz, Turti and Chughtā'i clearly show that it was the Mongols and Jalāl-ud-Dīn who weakened the power of Yaloz and Qubacha and thus enabled Iltutmish to gain a victory over them. Otherwise the infant Muslim State in India would have suffered a good deal from the triangular contest for power between the three slaves Iltutmish, Yaloz and Qubacha. Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn Kabir Khān was one of the slaves of Iltutmish. Sultān Rukn-ud-Dīn Fērōz Shāh gave him the district of Sunam. But he joined the rebels and gave a good deal of trouble to the Sultān. Radiya won him over to her side but after sometime he again showed signs of rebellion. The rebellion was put down.⁶ Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn Tughril Khān was another slave of Iltutmish. In the time of Rukn-ud-Dīn Fērōz Shāh he was the ring-leader of the rebels. In the

1 Baranī, 65

2 Nāsiri, 274.

3 Ibid., 248

4 Ibid., 243

5 Ibid., (Raverty), 760

6 Ibid., 235

time of Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn Mas'ūd Shāh he rebelled but was pardoned¹ Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn Balban-i-Kishlu Khān was another slave of Iluttmish. He was also the ring-leader of the rebels in the time of Sultān Rukn-ud-Dīn Fērōz Shāh. Later on he proceeded to Iraq in the presence of Halākū and came back to Uch. The Mongol intendent began to exercise his authority in his province². Thus he even intrigued with the Mongols against the Delhi Sultāns. Malik Shēr Khān was another slave of Iluttmish. He also proceeded towards Upper Turkistan and went to the Urdu (camp) of the Mongol leader, Mangū Khān³.

The slave system was organised on an efficient basis by Fērōz Shāh Tughlaq. Even 'Alā-ud-Dīn Khiljī kept 50,000 slaves⁴. It was however Fērōz Shāh who took the keenest interest in the recruitment of slaves. 'Afif has given an interesting account of the slave system as it prevailed in the time of Fērōz Shāh. The Sultān ordered his fief-holders and officers to capture slaves whenever they were at war and to pick out and send the best for the service of the court. When the feudatories went to court, they took with them beautiful slaves, dressed and ornamented in the most splendid style. Great numbers of slaves were thus collected and were employed usefully in the service of the State. The most energetic were recruited for the army, others with a literary taste were offered different jobs—they spent their time in reading and committing to memory the Holy Book, or in copying books. The Sultān was very anxious to have expert artisans to work in the State Kārkhānas, and hence the most intelligent of the slaves were taught mechanical arts so that about 12,000 slaves became artisans of various kinds. A large number of slaves had to serve as escort to the king. When the Sultān went out in state the slaves accompanied him in distinct corps, first the archers fully armed, next the swordsmen, the fighting men, the bandgan-i-mahili riding on male buffaloes, and slaves from the Hazara mounted on Arab and Turkish horses, bearing standards and axes. The inferior type of slaves were employed in all sorts of domestic duties as water-coolers, butlers, etc. In fact there was no occupation in which the slaves of Fērōz Shāh were not employed.⁵

DHARAM PAL.

1 *Nāṣirī*, 261

2 *Ibid.*, 272

3 *Ibid.*, 277

4 'Afif, 272

5 Elliot and Dowson, 342

THE MUSLIM THEORIES OF EDUCATION DURING THE MIDDLE AGES

طلب العلم فريضة على كل مسلم ومسلمة

“ To acquire learning is obligatory on every Muslim, man and woman ” —TRADITION

SOURCES OF MUSLIM EDUCATION

ISLAM appeared with the Qur'ān, which enjoined on its followers to read and learn it¹ The revelation of the Qur'ān not only stimulated education in the illiterate population of Arabia, but also initiated a number of new branches of learning Copying, reading, and studying of the Holy Scripture was so rapidly growing that within 25 years of his prophethood the Prophet of Islam had made Arabia a great centre of educational activities It is curious to see that Muslim education, which made such a good start in the beginning, has found few historians to record its periodical progress Lack of sources was commonly supposed to have been the cause of this shortage of works on the Muslim science of education The appearance of the edition of Zarnuji's brochure on the Education of the Student تعليم المتعلم in 1907, first drew the attention of European scholars and since then a number of editions of this and similar works have been published The recent publication of *Tadhkirat-as-Sām'i, al-Minhāj, Islāmī Nizām-e Ta'lim* and other original works on Muslim education in India have undoubtedly brought to light considerable material regarding the Islamic system of education, but none of them furnishes us with a scientific study of the principles observed by the Muslim educationists We therefore propose to give below a brief survey of the nature of Arabic sources on the Muslim science of education before going deeper into the study of the main subject.

It has been generally supposed that Muslims have contributed little to the science of education ; but a search into the antique lore of the Muslims reveals facts just the contrary. In the collections of Traditions like the *Sahīhs* of Bukhārī, Muslim, Abū-Dā'ūd, and Tirmidhī, the subject of knowledge forms a chapter of the main work In these chapters all the apostolic Traditions which encouraged learning and explained the importance and value of knowledge have been collected As early as 463 A H Hāfiz Ibn 'Abdul-Barr wrote an independent work on the nature of erudition under the title *Jām' Bayān-il-'Ilm*, which has been epitomised by Mahmasanī al-Azhari This work is also compiled on the lines of the

¹ Vide Qur'ānic Verses, 17/14, 96/1, 69/91, 73/20

Traditionists and it contains more about the importance of knowledge and the place of the Ulema in society than about the science of education. It is only in the *Ihyā'-al-'Ulūm* of al-Ghazzālī, (d. 505) and the *Muqaddama* of an-Nawāwī¹ (d. 671) that we for the first time come across direct references to the classification of education into religious and non-religious, lawful and unlawful, and to the qualifications required for the teacher and the student. But in *Ihyā'* as well as in a later work entitled *Jawāhir al-'Iqdām* by as-Samhūdī² (d. 911), in which similar references to education are found, the methods of education and courses of studies are not dealt with. Burhānuddīn Zarnūjī (d. 6th cent.) and Qādī Badrud-dīn ibn-Jumā'a (632) are the only authors who devoted their works chiefly to the science of education. In Zarnūjī's work *Ta'lim-ul-Muta'allim* and Ibn-Jumā'a's *Tadhkirat-Sāmi'* not only are the importance of education and qualifications of scholars discussed but the classification of education, subjects of studies, and methods of teaching are also mentioned. The most remarkable features of these two works are that Zarnūjī is a Hanafi scholar while Ibn-Jumā'a is Shāfi'i, Zarnūjī in his work generally quotes a number of Hanafi scholars like Imām Abū-Hanīfa (d. 150 A.H.) Abū-Yūsuf (d. 182) Mohd b. Hasan ash-Shaibānī (d. 189) Burhānuddīn al-Murghīnānī the author of *Hudāya* (d. 593 A.H.) Zahīruddīn Marghinānī, Najmuddīn an-Nasafi, etc., while Ibn-Jumā'a in his work refers to a majority of Shāfi'i authorities such as Muhammad b. Idrīs ash-Shāfi'i (d. 204), Al-Humaidī (d. 209), Qādī Husain b. Muhammad ash-Shāfi'i (d. 462) Imām al-Ghazzālī (d. 505), etc., the methods and courses of studies mentioned by both authors are distinctly at variance with each other.

It is this last mentioned characteristic of these books which we shall discuss when we deal with their theories. These varying principles become still more prominent when we compare the two treatises with other minor works written on or about education. Among these minor works are (1) a commentary on Zarnūjī's *Ta'lim al-Muta'allim*³ and (2) Ibn-Sā'id's (d. 749) *Irshād al-Qāsid-'ila Asnā Maqāsid*⁴ which throw further light on the Hanafi school. With regard to the Shāfi'i school ample references are found in Ghazzālī's *Ihyā'-ul-'Ulūm*, the *Muqaddama* of Nawawī, the *Muqaddama* of Ibn-Khaldūn, and an anonymous MS⁵ in which selections from *Ihyā'*, *Jawāhir ul-'Iqdām* and other works have been summarily collected. Further, in the 10th century A.H., a scholar of Yamen (probably Mohd b. 'Alī ash-Shaukanī ash-Shāfi'i?) wrote *Ādāb at-Tālib-wa-Muntaha al-Arab*⁶. It is a sort of a guide for students. The author has

1 MS Osmania University Library No. 297

2 MS O U L No. 719

3 MS O U L No. 295, and Asafia MS

4 MS O U L No. 296

5 MS O U L No. 574, although Ibn-Khaldūn belonged to the Mālikī school, yet both Mālik and Shāfi'i, being Traditionists, did not differ much from one another

6 MS O U L No. 232

classified students into four categories, viz. (1) those who aspire to become Imāms or authorities in a particular branch of learning with a view to enlightening other people, (2) those who confine their studies to the personal achievement and do not intend to benefit humanity by their learning, (3) those who want to qualify themselves so far as to become good members of society, (4) those who specialize either in art or letters, in science or craftsmanship. For all these four categories particular courses with special reference to their occupation have been prescribed, and in each course the Arabic language and Islamic theology are particularly introduced.

Besides the above-mentioned works, there are books which help us to understand the methods of teaching adopted by the Muslim teachers. Imām Abū-Hanīfa, for instance, wrote *Kitāb al-‘Ālim wal-Muta‘allim*¹ (the Book of the Teacher and the Taught). It is written in conversational style and some scholastic problems are discussed in it. Similarly, Ja‘far ibn Mansūr al-Yamanī, one of the Shī‘a missionaries of the 3rd century, wrote “the Book of the Teacher and the Taught”². This also is written in the form of conversation and expands the doctrines of the Ithna ‘Asharia sect, but it does not so much reflect on the method of teaching as on the tactics employed by the missionaries to convert people to their creed. As soon as a student enters the school, he puts questions to the teacher, who answers the questions one after the other until the inquisitiveness of the student is carried to a climax whence he is led to confess faith in the leader of the organisation. It may be that this method was the usual mode of teaching in the Fātimid schools, the Dār-ul-‘Ilm where political tendencies were prevalent and along with Shī‘ite doctrines were taught the sciences inherited from Persia and ancient Greece³.

EARLY METHODS OF EDUCATION

In any case, a careful study of the above-mentioned works shows that their authors have tackled the subject of Muslim education from different view-points. They have not only formulated principles of education but have also adopted different methods in teaching. A sweeping survey of Muslim education shows that from the early days of Islam to the end of the Umayyad period the main subjects of study continued to be Qurānology, holy Tradition, the Arabic language, poetry, and mathematics⁴. The method of teaching during these days was chiefly oral transmission of the lectures direct from the teacher to his pupil. Emphasis was laid

¹ Edited by Iḥyā al-Ma‘ārif an-Nu‘maniya. Although the authenticity of this work has been disputed the contents of the work tally with what is generally known regarding the Ḥanafī school.

² MS Asafiya Library (Arabic Ethics No. 428).

³ Hastings's *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* (Architecture, Muhammadan in Syria and Egypt).

⁴ , وقيل من تمام ما يجب للاباء على الأبناء تعليم الكتابة والساحة والحساب , see ‘*Uyūn al-Akhbār*, and *Bayān wat-Tabayīn* by Jāhūz ed. Sandulī, Vol. II, p. 138 (ما يجب على الأبناء للآباء).

on the authenticity of the transmitters. Only those scholars were considered authorities who had received their education through a trustworthy chain of transmitters. On delivering lectures every teacher had to repeat the chain of authorities from whom he had received the particular information. The tree of these authorities was carefully preserved and transmitted from father to son. When in the Umayyid period the system of dictating lectures was introduced, mention of the authorities remained part and parcel of the compilations. Both methods, oral and dictation, continued till the reign of the 'Abbasids, when the well-known legal schools Hanafi and Shāfi'ī were formed, and the practice of committing the lectures to paper prevailed over the oral system.

DEFINITION OF MUSLIM EDUCATION

THE legal outlook of the Hanafi and the Shāfi'ī schools was different, but the aim and object of education according to both schools was to understand the relation of man with God as revealed in the Holy Qur'ān. This spirit has remained the chief source of all educational activities of the Muslims, although it has been approached by different ways and means. Imām Abū-Hanīfa says that "Education means understanding of what makes or mars a soul and learning something without putting it into actual practice is meaningless. One should therefore know how to distinguish between right and wrong in regard to both this world and hereafter and should choose the right conduct, so that his misguided intellect may not lead him astray and consequently Allāh's wrath may fall upon him."¹ From this statement it appears that education according to Abū-Hanīfa means to teach a right way of thinking and living. In the like manner Zarnujī, a follower of the Hanafi school regards knowledge as a means to achieve Taqwa (pious conduct).² The word Taqwa is a comprehensive term and therefore requires explanation.

Different authors have explained Taqwa in different ways. The commentator³ of *Ta'lim al-Muta'allim* explaining the term says "Literally it means to guard against injury and it implies strict precaution, in the terminology of the Shari'ā (divine law) it means keeping oneself from all that is injurious to the human soul from the point of view of

1 Zarnujī says, "Knowledge (علم) is a quality which illumines the mind and education (تعليم) provides insight into secrets of learning and methods of treatment," and Imām Abū-Hanīfa says

اتقوا معرفة العبد ما يلهو ما عليها قال ما العلم الا العمل به الح

See *Ta'lim al-Muta'allim*, Bombay edition 1307 A.H., pp. 3 and 4

2 *Ta'lim al-Muta'allim*, Bombay edition 1307 A.H., p. 3

اعانوا العلم لكونه وسيلة التقوى التي يستحق بها الكرامة عند الله الح

3 This commentary on the MS of O U is ascribed to Mohd b Khalil while in the catalogue of the Asafia it is ascribed to Qāḍī Zakariya al-Anṣārī though the Asafia MS does not contain the author's name, which in the published work is Shaikh Ismā'īl (Cairo edition).

other-worldliness It is stated that 'Umar ibn 'Abdul-'Aziz took it to mean discarding all that God has prohibited and executing what is ordained, and some scholars are said to have described the Muttaqi (pious or prudent) as one who foregoes even such things as are not objected to by the Shari'a, fearing that he may fall a victim to things objectionable.¹ Caliph 'Aliy is said to have stated that to obtain Taqwa (Piety) five habits are necessary, until the following five habits are acquired, Taqwa is not achieved

- 1 Hard living and hard struggle should be preferred to the easy-going life
- 2 Submission to the will and mercy of God should be preferred to confidence in one's own capacity
- 3 Humbleness should be preferred to greatness and grandeur
- 4 Staple food should be preferred to the redundant
- 5 Life after death should be preferred to the life of this world (or death should be preferred to life).

The commentator proceeds to explain that Taqwa is in fact divided into three stages The first stage is to keep away from unlawful things with a view to avoiding the permanent punishment inflicted on the sinners in Hell, as this sense is used in the Qur'anic Verse (والزمهم كلمة التقوى - [And imposed on them the word of self-restraint] ٢٦ الفتح) The second stage is to refrain from all that makes one sinful by doing or not doing it This is what is generally known as Taqwa in the Shari'a and the same meaning is used in the Qur'anic Verse (ولو اهل القرى آمنوا واتقوا (الاعراف ٩٦) [And if the people of the township had believed and kept from evil] And the third stage is to abandon everything that makes one forget God and to devote oneself whole-heartedly to His service This meaning of Taqwa is found in the Qur'anic Verse (يا ايها الذين آمنوا اتقوا الله حق تقاته - آل عمران ١٠٢) [O Ye who believe! Observe your duty to Allāh with right observance] Knowledge, the commentator goes on to say, is a means of achieving Taqwa (pious conduct), because refraining from unlawful things is possible only when one knows what is forbidden and what is lawful, and without this knowledge none can prevent himself from committing sin²

From the above explanation it is obvious that knowledge according to the Muslim educationists is a means to achieve right conduct (Taqwa) and not an end in itself The Muslim education therefore prepares mankind for a particular conduct prescribed by the Prophet of Islam This conduct implies purging the heart of all worldly ambitions and raising the standard of the intellect to a level which aims at ruling the forces of

¹ See Commentary اسم الاتقاء من الوفاة وهي فوط الصابة وفي عرف الشرع عاره عن كمال التقوى
on Ta'lim MS O U Leaves 15 and 16, see also Raghīb al-Isfahānī's *Mufradāt-al-Qur'ān* تقوى

² Commentary on Ta'lim MS O U Leaf 16.

وانما صار العلم وسيلة الى التقوى لان الاتقاء عما نهاه الله تعالى موقوف على العلم الح

nature and to utilize it for the betterment of humanity. Thus the Muslim education, equipping the student with beauties of head and heart, enables him to live in a world where Prophets and Caliphs as vicegerents of God rule over a population of right-thinking, plain-living and God-fearing men. In other words, "Muslim" to the educationists of Islam is a synonym of gentleman—gentleman in the sense of one who follows principles of liberty, equality and fraternity in matters of this world and who lives and dies for faith, piety and justice in order to achieve the blessings of his Creator in the life after death. With this object in view the Hanafi school aims at the spiritual as well as intellectual development of human nature, as Ibn-Sā'id says, "We are in need of developing both the theoretical and the practical capacities of human beings since this is the only way of achieving blissful life, and when it is admitted that this object is gained through knowing the nature of the things which lead us to believe in God and do the right it becomes obligatory that we should acquire knowledge, for it helps us to understand the nature of things and enables us to choose virtues and avoid evil deeds"¹ In this definition the most striking point is that emphasis is laid on perfecting the man mentally as well as physically. In accordance with this definition education ought to awaken the inner capacities which lie dormant in human nature, and they should develop to their full extent in order to play their destined part in teaching man the right mode of living. This shows that knowledge in the opinion of Ibn-Sā'id may be acquired through intellect just as it is achieved by studying the revelations of the Prophets. Ibn-Sā'id acknowledges that divine revelation is superior to intellectual achievement, but he says that all branches of learning, however low their comparative intrinsic merits, are generally useful and not injurious as ignorance is.² This view seems to have been shared by Imām Abū-Hanīfa and his school, as Zarnuǧi writes —

و يعرف الله تعالى بالدليل فان ايمان المقلد وان كان مصحاحا له لكن يكون ايمانا ترك الاسدلال

"That (a student) should believe in God on the basis of reason because the faith of an imitator or blind follower (المقلد), even if it is correct according to our school, will be considered a sin so long as it is not confirmed by reason and intellect."³

فان تاساحة الى تكميل هوسا الشريعة في قواها الطرية والعملية اذ كان ذلك هو الوسيلة الى السعادة الالهية
ولما كان هذا ايمانا يتم ما علم بحقائق الاشياء على ما هي عليه لتعتقد الحق وفعل الخير وحب علم العلم
التكامل بتحقيق الحقائق وما هو اليه كالمسائل وما يشتمل على بيان ما يجب ان يقصد من الصالحات ويحب من
الردائل
Irshād al-Qāṣid, MS O U Leaf 1

والعلم انه لا شيء ولا واحد من العلوم من حيث هو علم صار له هو نافع ولا شيء من الجهل من حيث هو
جهل دافع له هو صار لاسيدي في كل علم مفعلة الح
Irshād al-Qāṣid MS O U Leaf 3

3 *Ta'lim al-Muta'allim*, ed Bombay, p 5

This statement indicates what great importance the Hanafī school attached to the growth of the intellect and to the intellectual realization of the relation existing between man and God. Objections to these views of the Hanafī school seem to have been raised during the lifetime of Imām Abū-Hanīfa, who has defended his school of thought in a brochure entitled *al-'Ālim wal-Muta'allim*. In this brochure a student asks the Imām why we should enter into such (scholastic) studies, in view of the fact that they did not exist during the period of the Prophet's Companions. In answer to this question the Imām says, "The Companions of the Prophet were not in need of learning these (studies) for the simple reason that in those days there were not people who found fault with the religion of Islam and considered murder of the Muslims permissible, but now Muslims are bound to learn how to distinguish between the right and wrong-doer in order to defend themselves and their religion. And the example of the Prophet's Companions quoted above can be compared with that of people who have no fighting enemies standing against them and therefore do not require ammunition, but when Muslims are passing through trial and are brought face to face with fighting enemies the need for ammunition is imperative. Under these circumstances, even if a man keeps quiet and does not take active part in religious controversies, he cannot prevent his mind from occupying itself with them and being affected by the views of one of the two contending parties, and the mind being the main source of all activities it should be guarded against unhealthy influences. For if a man confesses the faith of Islam with the lip or tongue while he disbelieves it in his heart, he is not regarded as a Muslim, but if a man believes in Islam from the core of his heart, although he has not expressed it, he is a perfect Muslim in the eye of Allah."¹ This defence of intellectual studies shows that the question had remained a burning topic in the days of Imām Abū-Hanīfa. But later on it found support in Ibn-Sīnā's (d. 428) romance *Salman and Ibsal* and Ibn-Tufail's (d. 581) allegory *Hayy ibn Yaqzan*, in which human intellect is shown as capable of discovering divine wisdom. Ibn-Tufail's allegory explains the nature and inner capacities of human intellect. Hayy ibn Yaqzan is born to unknown parents in a barren island and is brought up under the care of a deer far from human society. Although he lives among animals, imitates the habits of the beasts, and copies the notes of the birds, yet as he grows up, he learns intuitively how to live like human being and consequently discovers the nature of the whole universe and its Creator with the help of his own intellect. Thus it appears that the intellectual theory of knowledge which originated in the Hanafī school received wider circulation and became popular in the eastern as well as the western parts of the Muslim world.

On the other hand, Imām Shāfi'ī and his school held a different view of education altogether. In the opinion of this school knowledge received

¹ *Kitāb al-'Ālim wal-Muta'allim*, Hyderabad, Deccan, pp. 2 and 3.

through channels other than prophetic revelation was of little importance, and an intellectual approach to the realization of divine wisdom was supposed to be misleading. Education according to Ibn-Jumā'a was a medium for drawing people nearer to God and for spreading and reviving divine law.¹ Teachers, in the opinion of this school, are torch-bearers of prophetic revelation and it is their duty to illuminate the minds of their pupils with divine inspiration. To these educationists (unlike the Hanafis) faith in God as taught by the Prophet required no confirmation by human intellect. They therefore disliked philosophical studies and dogmatic theology. It is related that Abū-Ibrāhīm al-Muznī was once discussing with Imām Shāfi'ī in the style of the scholastics. After the discussion was over, Imām Shāfi'ī asked him "My boy! shall I point out to you what is better than this (scholastic theology)?" "Yes," he said. "My boy," said the Imām, "for this learning (dogmatism) if you understand it correctly you will receive no reward, and if you misunderstand it, you will become an unbeliever. So why do you not learn a science for which, if correctly understood, you will be rewarded, and if mistaken, you will be doing no sin?" "What is that learning?" asked al-Muznī. "It is Fiqh" (Islamic jurisprudence) said the Imām. Whereupon al-Muznī began to study Fiqh under Imām Shāfi'ī.² Similarly, Abū-Thaur is said to have first followed the Hanafi school of law, whose adherents are called supporters of analogy (اعلالي) but when he came in contact with Imām Shāfi'ī he adopted the Shāfi'ī method in which apostolic Traditions are strictly followed. Furthermore, Imām Shāfi'ī is said to have mentioned that it is far better that God should see his servants plunged into all sorts of sins (except polytheism) than that He should see them indulging in dogmatic theology.

This attitude of the Shāfi'ī school against scholasticism continued until some members of the Shāfi'ī school protested. Imām Ghazzālī came forward and declared that one branch of learning should not be deprecated in order to exalt another, and he also suggested a middle course between the orthodox and the extreme scholastics.³ His attitude was similar to that of David Hume who was inclined to scepticism and yet believed in the limitations of the intellect. He refused blind faith on the one hand and on the other proved the inability of intellect to become a reliable source of knowledge (see *Munqidh min ad-Dalāl* Imām Nawāwī

¹ *Tadhkiratus-Sām'i*, p. 47

² *Tabaqāt ash-Shāfi'īa*, Vol. I, pp. 241 and 228, *Tadhkirah*, p. 116

³ *Ihyā'-al-'Ulūm*, Vol. I, p. 50 (الوطعة الحامسة) and see p. 20 where he says

ولكن تعير الان حكمه (علم الكلام) اذ حدثت الدع الصارفة عن مقصى القرآن والسنة ودفعت جماعة
لحقوا لها شهواتها ورواها كلاما مرفها فصار ذلك المحذور بحكم الصلوة ما دوناه بل صار من فروص
الكفايات الحـ

See also *Ihām al-'Awām 'an 'Ilm il-Kalām*, strangely enough, Shāfi'ī scholars produced considerable literature on scholastic subjects. This may be due to the keen competition and intensive controversies which were then raging between the two schools.

also differed from Imām Shāfi'ī in this respect, for he says "Our Imām ash-Shāfi'ī has exaggerated in showing the study of dogmatics as forbidden (حرام) and has gone too far to make it a sin for which severe punishment will be inflicted on its adherents"¹

From the above discussion it appears that knowledge from the point of view of its sources was divided into prophetic revelation and intellectual achievement. The Shāfi'ī school devoted itself chiefly to the former theory while the Hanafi school combined both theories in its system of education. These differences of opinion in the theories of knowledge permeated both schools, and remained the main source of all their educational activities.²

CLASSIFICATION OF SUBJECTS

THESE schools not only differed from one another in their legal principles and educational theories but also held different views with regard to the classification of the subjects of studies, curricula, and methods of teaching. That these differences were not merely theoretical is proved by the fact that when Madrasas were transferred from mosques to separate buildings, Shāfi'ī Madrasas existed separate from Hanafi Madrasas. In Bagdad, Mosul, Damascus, Halab, Egypt and Nisapur there were several Hanafi Madrasas under the 'Abbasids. In the 15th century in Damascus alone there were 33 Hanafi, 31 Shāfi'ī, 9 Hanbali, and one Mālikī Madrasas, and 6 were used by both Shāfi'īs and Hanafis.³ Moreover, it is reported that Madrasas devoted to one out of the four legal schools had one Liwan on the court, a Madrasa used by two rites had two Liwans, and State Madrasas which accommodated four legal schools consisted of four Liwans and each sect was installed in one of the four Liwans.⁴ The separate quarter for each school in these monuments of architecture proves that each followed a particular course of studies. Not only that but also Shāfi'ī professors were preferably employed in Shāfi'ī Madrasas and Hanafi professors in Hanafi Madrasas. For instance, all those professors who are said to have been teachers in the Shāfi'iy Madrasas

1 ān-Nawawī's *Muqaddama* MS O U باب اصنام العلم الشرعى

2 It is curious to find that although Hanafi scholars were supporters of intellectual learning, a great number of Shāfi'ī scholars wrote on Islamic scholasticism (علم الكلام). This may be due to the fact that in view of the increasing demand of the intellectual sciences, the Shāfi'ī scholars had to adopt a middle course in defence of their school, and had to reconcile the extreme rationalists on the one side and the enthusiast Traditionalists on the other.

3 *Encyclopædia of Islam* "Masjid," p. 381

4 *Ibid.*, "Masjid" (Architecture p. 423 and p. 381)

at an-Nizāmīa at Bagdad were Shāfi'ī scholars¹

These schools of law did not confine their studies to a special course of jurisprudence as is generally supposed. That they taught in these Madrasas all branches of learning is apparent from the subjects of study which they recommended.

Subjects of study according to the Hanafi school were divided into compulsory (فرض) and optional (فرض كفاية). Explaining the Prophet's Tradition "To acquire knowledge is the duty of every Muslim, man and woman," the commentator of Zarnuḡī says "To acquire knowledge is obligatory on every grown-up man and woman. And among the obligatory subjects are cognisance of the oneness of God and His attributes and faith in the mission of the Prophet, for conventional and blind faith in Islamic dogmas is not allowed by the Hanafis, on the basis of these Qur'ānic Verses²

1 So learn that there is no God save Allāh (يَا أَيُّهَا الْعَالَمِينَ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ) (محمد ١٩)

2 We will certainly show them our signs (سَنُرِيهِمْ آيَاتِنَا الَّتِي هُمْ سَاهُونَ) (هم سجد ٥٣)

Further, it is obligatory on every grown-up Muslim, be he rich or poor, to learn rules and regulations of prayer, cleanliness, and to know the principles of Zakāt and pilgrimage in order to be able to perform these duties when required. But higher studies which enable one to pass individual judgement in matters of the Shari'a and to decide legal cases are enumerated among optionals (فرض كفاية) and this means that if one of the citizens has acquired optional subjects the rest of the population is not necessarily obliged to learn them.³ The Hanafis therefore enjoined on the reigning caliph to see that there was in a city at least one scholar fully qualified in higher studies. They also advised that higher studies should be taken up after learning some craft in order to provide livelihood so that the students might proceed in higher studies with peace of mind. In the view of this school those subjects were also regarded as compulsory which a Muslim needed in order to help him to distinguish between the lawful (حلال) and the forbidden things (حرام) in the occupation which he had undertaken. Thus the rudiments of devotional services (عادات), prayer (صلاة), cleanliness (طهارة),

1 Ibn-Khallikān, ed Wustenfeld. Further differences in their opinions and methods of teaching vide Ibn-Khallikān Nos 560, 569, 578 and Nawāwī's biography of Shāfi'ī. The school of Abū-Hanīfa called rationalistic by his opponents. Vide (Under Alp Arslan,) Ibn-Khallikān. The founder of the Nizāmīa at Bagdad had laid down that the chair of Philology in that institution should be held by a Shāfi'ite, vide Ibn-Khallikān, No 565, Vol, VI, p 80, Ib Khal pp 5, 37, 38, 88, 373, 403 606

طلب العلم فرض عين على كل مسلم مكلف ومسألة مكلفة كالعلم المكلف لبيان معرفته تعالى الخ . . . واما
لواع رتبة الاحكام والاعمال . فرض كفاية .

2 See commentary on Ta'lim, MS O U, Leaf 12

3 Commentary on Ta'lim, MS O U, Leaf 12

Zakāt (زكاة) super-property tax, law of marriage and inheritance, etc—are as much compulsory subjects as contractual transaction (معاملات) for men dealing in trade and commerce. Moreover, subjects like ethics, hygiene (medicine, طب) and astrology as far as it is helpful in finding out the direction of the Qiblah (Ka'bah), and timing of prayer are also recommended by the Hanafis¹

This course of studies leads us to conclude that the Hanafi school possessed a wide range of studies in both the elementary and the higher stages of education, and left the selection of the subjects at the discretion of the student according to his varying need. They realized that all students are not intellectually fit to attain every kind of learning. They therefore wished to deal with each case individually, and advised that teachers should guide the students to select a course of studies according to their individual taste. That this fact was fully grasped by the Hanafis is observed in a statement of Zarnuji and his commentator who says: "The teacher knows what particular subject suits a student and what goes hand in hand with his nature, for natures differ one from the other, and if jurisprudence (فقه) suits one, the Arabic language appeals the other"². That this theory was put into actual practice is shown by the fact that Mohd. Ibn Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī is said to have started reading the *Book of Prayer* (Fiqh) with Mohd. b. al-Hasan,³ who advised him to take up to the study of Holy Traditions. Hereafter Bukhārī commenced the study of the apostolic Tradition and subsequently became Imām of this branch of learning and his *Sahih* is regarded as next to the Qur'ān. This shows that the Hanafi school allowed free play to individual initiative. But such scope and choice of subject are not found in the Shāfi'ī school.

The subjects of study were classified by the Shāfi'īs into religious (شرعى) and non-religious (غير شرعى). Non-religious subjects comprised the forbidden (حرام), the disliked (مكروه), and the permissible (مباح). The most strictly forbidden subjects were sorcery, astrology, philosophy and all that was likely to stimulate doubt in the minds of the believers. Religious education was divided into three classes, *ḥuḍūrī* (1) obligatory (مل), (2) optional (فرض كماله), voluntary or supererogatory (نفل). Among the compulsory subjects the Shāfi'īs included all that was necessary to enable a Muslim to perform devotional services, like the rules of ablution, prayer, etc. Imām Shāfi'ī and his followers further made it obligatory on the parents to teach their children what was required of them as Muslims. Besides knowing elementary rules of cleanliness, praying and fasting, they ought to know the unlawfulness of adultery, theft, drinking, lying, backbiting, etc. Such subjects of ethics to some members of this school were permissible and to some obligatory, and when they were supplemented by subjects like Quranology, Fiqh, the

1 *Ta'lim al-Muta'allim*, ed. Bombay, p. 5 and the MS. O U No. 295, Leaf 3.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 8 and Commentary, MS. O U, Leaves 25 and 26.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 8.

Arabic language, etc this course was regarded as praiseworthy, مستحب. But all members agreed that the education of the children and young slaves on the basis of the Qur'ānic verse يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا ادْعُوا إِلَى اللَّهِ وَارْتَدُّوا عَنْكُمْ وَأَطِيعُوا اللَّهَ وَارْتَدُّوا عَنْكُمْ (أما) was compulsory. They further laid down that the cost involved in compulsory education should be withdrawn from the child's property, and in case the child had no property, his guardian was made responsible for his education. Similarly the cost of praiseworthy or secondary education was to be borne either by the child or by his guardian, but Imām Shāfi'ī made the expenses of compulsory education a necessary part of the total expenditure legally payable to the mothers of the children¹

Optionals according to Shāfi'ī school, as far as religious education is concerned, are all those subjects which are indispensable for Muslims in understanding fully the faith of Islam, such as learning of the Qur'ān, Prophetic Traditions and their allied subjects, jurisprudence, the Arabic language and grammar and biographies of the Traditionists, the principles connected with consensus of opinion (إجماع) and legal differences (حلاى). Optionals among the non-religious studies are all those subjects which men require for the maintenance of human society, like medicine, mathematics, etc

The last kind of education in the Shāfi'ī school is what is called voluntary (هل), and it means to have command over all the principles of learning and to master subjects already studied as optionals²

Education as classified above by the two schools reveals the following differences —

HANAFI

1 Faith in Allah and the Prophet should be rooted in the mind and based on firm intellectual grounds

2 Compulsory education in the elementary stage should consist of all those religious and non-religious subjects which one requires daily in practical life

3 The higher stage of education provides a vast choice of subjects for study, intellectual studies are combined with the religious, and selection of the subject is made according to the taste of the student

SHĀFI'Ī

1 Faith in Allah as revealed in the Qur'ān should be accepted unquestioningly

2 At the elementary stage such religious subjects are compulsory as children will require for devotional services when they grow up

3 The higher stage of education includes deeper knowledge of the different branches of religious learning and some non-religious studies like mathematics, medicine, history, literature, etc but purely intellectual and scholastic studies were discouraged

COURSES OF STUDY

As the above-mentioned theories were fundamentally different from each other, each school followed its own course of study Hanafis did

¹ Nawawī's *Muqaddama* MS O U No 297 (أب اقسام العلم السرى) and *Ihyā' al-'Ulūm*

² *Muqaddama of Nawawī* (أب اقسام العلم السرى) *Ihyā' al-'Ulūm*, pp 13-20

not allow conventionalism and blind following in matters of faith, the philosophy of Divinity (*‘Ilm-at-Tauhid*) was therefore given first place in their curriculum. Next to the tenets concerning God and His attributes the science of jurisprudence was taught. It was followed by Arabic language, grammar, calligraphy, and dialectics as far as necessary.¹ But as education with the Shāfi‘is was based on submission to Tradition and Divine Revelation, they required no intellectual study of faith and started their studies with the Qur’ānic exegesis. Their principle was that subjects which were superior according to their intrinsic merits should supersede the other subjects. Quranology was succeeded by the study of Hadith, principles of theology, principles of Fiqh, the particular school of Fiqh, legal differences of the jurists, Arabic grammar and Dialectics.² That the Shāfi‘i practically adopted this course of studies is proved by the fact that al-Qāsim ibn Sallām ash-Shāfi‘i is said to have studied first the Qur’ān and then Hadith and finally jurisprudence.³ Similarly, Ibn Abi Hātim says that his father did not allow him to take up Hadith literature until he had studied the Qur’ān.⁴

Although the text-books in the Shāfi‘i and Hanafi schools were changed from time to time yet their principles in adopting a particular curriculum remained the same. These principles were firstly that one should proceed from simple and epitomised works to detailed and more difficult subjects, secondly that the subjects which are important and superior with regard to their intrinsic merits should supersede other subjects.⁵ These principles continued till the 7th century A.H., as Zarnujī and Ibn-Jum‘a are quite conscious of their different methods and record them pointedly while discussing the selection of the subjects. Even in the days of Ibn-Khaldūn the Shāfi‘i curriculum may have been current in the western lands of Islam, for Ibn-Khaldūn, referring to the branches of religious education in order of precedence, gives first place to Quranology, which is followed by Hadith, principles of Fiqh, Fiqh (jurisprudence), scholastic theology (كلام), and Arabic literature.⁶ But in the 8th century A.H., in the western parts of the Muslim world, some reaction against this curriculum seems to have been at work, since Ibn-Khaldūn (d. 808) mentions a protest lodged against the teaching of the Qur’ān at the elementary stage while children were unable to understand the meaning of the Qur’ānic Verses.⁷ Further, when Qāḍī Abū-Bakr ibn al-‘Arabī proposed that the teaching of Arabic language and literature should be undertaken first, as is done in the Andalusian schools, and then mathematics, Quranology, principles of theology, Fiqh, dialectics

1 Commentary on *Ta’lim al-Muta’allim*, MS O U Leaves 16 and 17

2 An-Nawāwī’s *Muqaddama*, *Tadhkira*, pp. 35, 36, 58 *Ādāb at-Ta’lim*, MS O U No 574, p. 22.

3 *Tabaqāt-as-Shāfiya*, Vol. I, p. 270, and *Tadhkira*.

4 *Tadhkirat* (Dhahabī), Vol. III, p. 47

5 *Ta’lim al-Muta’allim*, ed. Bombay, p. 13 and *Tadhkira as-Sam’i*, pp. 55, 57, 113

6 *Muqaddama* of Ibn-Khaldūn, p. 381

7 *Ibid.*, p. 494.

and the science of Tradition should be followed, Ibn-Khaldūn supported this scheme and also defended the commencement of education with the reading of the Qur'ān. He held that they started studies with the teaching of the Qur'ān as a good augury on account of its sanctity and that it was useful in the elementary stage of education, for older children do not study the Qur'ān so readily as they do under the supervision of their parents.¹ The fact is that in countries where Arabic was not the mother-tongue, the starting of education with the Qur'ān seems to have become a problem, since the community was not prepared to break away from its conventional environment, but in Arabic-speaking countries the question did not arise, and therefore the Hanafi and Shāfi'i educationists of the Arab world have not tackled the problem. With them it was only in the secondary stage of education that the study of Arabic language and literature became important. The eastern lands of Islam also differed from the western in the fact that in the east there were separate Maktabas for teaching Arabic script, whereas in the west the Arabic language and its script were taught together in one and the same school. Another notable feature of the Andalusian school of studies was that it not only gave precedence to Arabic language and literature but also imparted instruction daily in more than one subject of arts and science.² Such a combination of subjects was allowed by Shāfi'is only in exceptional cases, with students who were considered capable of learning more than one subject at a time.³

A glance at the courses adopted by Muslim scholars in India shows that they followed the Hanafi curriculum as scholastic science and jurisprudence were taught before Quranology and Tradition. Arabic language and logic were also given preference at the elementary stage.⁴

METHODS OF TEACHING

APART from the above-mentioned differences in the courses of studies, the methods of teaching adopted by both the Shāfi'i and Hanafi schools were remarkably distinct from each other. The Hanafis aimed at developing the mental and memorial faculties of the students. For this purpose they laid down that a lesson should begin with as much as a student could memorize by repeating it twice, and the quantity should be gradually increased until the student becomes accustomed to learning lengthy lessons.⁵ But Hanafis took care that, however lengthy a lesson

1 *Muqaddama* of Ibn-Khaldūn, p. 494

2 *Ibid.*, p. 493

3 *Tadhkirat-as-Sam'i*, pp. 57, 116 and 117

4 The curriculum known by the name of Nizāmīa which the Indian schools adopted was as follows —

- | | | |
|---------------|------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1 Etymology | 5 Logic | 9 Principles of Islamic Law, |
| 2 Syntax | 6 Arithmetic | 10 Scholasticism |
| 3 Rhetoric. | 7 Philosophy (ancient) | 11 Qur'ānic Commentary. |
| 4 Literature. | 8 Islamic Law | 12 Hadīth |

5 *Ta'lim al-Muta'allim*, ed. Bombay, p. 13

might be, it should provide ample time for the student to concentrate over it and to enable him to grasp its meaning completely. With a view to training the intellect, the Hanafis laid great emphasis on the necessity for discussion (مطارحه) and deliberation (مطارحه) between the students, while Shāfi'is adopted (مراقة) comradeship and encouraged them to repeat lessons together. The motto in the Hanafi school was "concentrate and understand" "تأمل تدرك", and they also said, "To remember two letters is better than to hear a good deal"¹ It was therefore quality and not quantity that counted with the Hanafis.

Shāfi'is also preferred quality to quantity, but as they were Traditionalists, their quality meant not intellectual training for original research but accuracy and correct reading and remembering of the texts. They therefore emphasized the collation and correction of the texts before remembering them.² So the teacher in this school was asked to explain his lectures with the help of similes, resemblances, references to different versions, demonstration of their accuracy, strong and weak points of the texts, the authenticity of the authorities quoted, and the teacher's own views supported by authentic sources. This method of teaching leads us to say that Shāfi'is adopted comparative methods in their studies. To elucidate the point further we may quote below the modes of discussion employed by Imām Abū-Hanīfa and Imām Shāfi'ī in explanation of their points of view.

SHĀFI'Ī METHOD

Ishāq ibn Rahwayh asked ash-Shāfi'īy what was his opinion about the lawfulness of using the hide of a dead animal.

"To tan the hides is to clean them," said the Imām.

"What is your reason?" asked Ishāq. Whereupon Shāfi'ī quoted the Hadith which is traced back to Maymūna. The latter said that the prophet passed by a dead goat and said, "Why do you not make use of the goat's skin?"

Ishāq replied that in a Tradition of Ibn-'Ukaim the Prophet is said to have written to them only one month before he died that they should not make use of the hides of dead bodies. As this message was written only one month before the Prophet died, it can be taken to have abrogated the Hadith of Maymūna. Shāfi'ī said, "My authority in this case is authoritative Tradition and in yours, a letter" (authenticity of which is considered doubtful) —

HANAFI METHOD

On a student's asking Imām Abū Hanīfa whether a believer who has committed unpardonable sin will be regarded as an enemy of God (unbeliever), the Imām replied

"He will not be considered as an enemy of God so long as he has not abandoned Tauhid (faith in the oneness of God). That is because an enemy hates his foe and finds fault with him, while the believer, however great a sinner he may be, loves God more than anything else. (The test is that) if he is asked to choose between the punishment of hell and belying of God, he will prefer the hell fire." The student said, "If he loved God, he would not have disobeyed him." "Yes," said the Imām, "the son loves his father and sometimes disobeys him. Similarly the believer loves God even if he disobeys him."³

1 *Ta'lim al-Muta'allim* pp 13 and 14.

2 *Tadhkira as-Sami*, pp 121 and 142.

3 *Tabaqāt as-Shafiya*, Vol I, p 237, 49, *Kitāb 'Ālim wal-Muta'allim*, pp 14 and 15.

Thus we see in these modes of discussion that with the Shāfi'ī's authority is the sole criterion for judging all problems while reason is the pivot of discussion in the Hanafi method

Both schools, however, agreed that the lectures should not be committed to paper unless they are fully understood and remembered. They also unanimously held that by education the students should intend to achieve pious conduct and look up to the Prophet for guidance in life. They should in no case use education as a means to gain worldly ambitions. They therefore made education a sacred duty equal in merit to devotional exercises. To them the place of learning, be it mosque or Madrasa, was a holy sanctuary where both the teacher and the taught assembled to serve Allah. To receive education was as good a duty as praying, fasting, etc., because Muslims intending to learn would have to equip themselves with pious motives and abide by a prescribed etiquette of learning just as they prepared themselves for praying and other Islamic rites. The rules and regulations of this etiquette were defined and a number of brochures under the title *Ādāb al-Muta'allim*, "Conduct of the Students," had been written. According to this etiquette the relation of the teacher and his pupil was like that of father and son and the examples set by the Prophet, his Companions, and the recognised Ulema were followed. The teacher used to put on clean clothes, perform ablution, and read out verses of the Qur'ān before starting his lecture. In the Madrasa, however, there was all the environment required for a Muslim community. It was as it were a miniature of the Muslim society existing outside the school. As the students of the Madrasas found a more or less similar environment outside their school, the cry of modern educationists that school education has departed too far from the actualities of life did not then exist.

MOHD ABDUL MU'ID KHAN.

CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

HYDERABAD

The All-India Law Conference.

THE originality imbibed and the activity fostered among the Alumni of the Osmania University has exacted the tribute from the Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru who recently observed that Hyderabad had become one of the big centres of thinking and doing in India.

Under the patronage of His Exalted Highness and the auspices of the Osmania University, the first All-India Law Conference was convened in Hyderabad in the third week of July last, with Sir Maurice Gwyer as General President-elect, and others as Sessional Presidents.

The Hon Nawab 'Ālam Yār Jung Bahādur, Law and Ecclesiastical Member, delivered the welcome address and remarked that a common meeting ground for legislature, class-room, Bench and Bar had become a great need. Hyderabad was a fit place for holding the first session for its glorious legal traditions, past and present. If it was in Kalyani (Hyderabad) that *Mitākshara* was compiled, it was also here that we produced *Fatāwā Kāfūriya* and *Fatāwā Tātār-Khāniya*. As for the present-day work, our *Dā'iratul-Ma'ārif* and *Ihyā'ul-Ma'ārif an-Nu'māniya* have already earned international reputation for editing classical books on Muslim jurisprudence. We are in advance of British India in relieving judiciary from the burden of Revenue and providing the highest legal education through the medium of an Indian language, besides translating into Urdu about a score and more standard books on different branches of Law from half a dozen languages.

H. E. the President of the Council, in inaugurating the Conference, conveyed the Royal Message, so graciously sent by H. E. H. the Nizam to the Conference. It reads:—

The Royal Message

“I send my greetings to this first session of the All-India Law Conference. There exists in my Dominions the complete separation of the executive from the judiciary, and this separation is one of the basic features of my administration. The High Court, endowed with

my charter, enjoys a position of dignity and independence as the highest court in the State. A special department for the study and teaching of Law has been created in the Osmania University and has been contributing not only to the personnel of my judicial service but also to the Bar, the relations between which and the Bench have remained cordial.

“ Underlying both the administration and the study of Law is the fundamental idea of a reign of Law which must be the foundation of every administration. I trust that in promoting a study of Law and of its different aspects and in affording a medium for exchange of ideas, this Conference will not only succeed in creating popular interest in an academic study of Law but also result in a full appreciation of its place in the life of a community.”

On account of the unavoidable absence of Sir Maurice Gwyer, due to his indisposition, Sir ‘Abdul-Qādir took the Chair and said Hyderabad had now become a great centre of learning in all branches of studies. She was rendering a special service by adopting Urdu as the medium of instruction instead of a foreign language. He emphasized on the need of raising the standard of legal profession and teaching, and testified to the high standard maintained in the Osmania University, for he had examined papers and theses many a time, in this connection he particularly referred to the originality of Osmanians who were covering fields in research not yet trodden by others before.

Among the Sessional Presidents Mr. Mir Akbar ‘Alī Khān spoke about the law of fiefs and royal grants in the Islamic State of Hyderabad. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru referred to the vast field of researches in Islamic Law and pointed out the many original contributions of Abū-Yūsuf and others. A number of learned papers were contributed, of which the following may be noted here —

1. Law of Marriage. A Study in Comparison and Contrast, by Dr. Hamid Ali.
2. Muslim Notion of Conflict of Laws, by Dr. M. Hamidullah.
3. Muslim Law of Hyderabad, by Mr. Basit Ali Khan.
4. Similarities in Muslim and Hindu Jurisprudence, by Mr. B. N. Chobe.
5. Evolution of the Islamic Administration of Justice, Mr. Md. Ghawth.
6. Law and Custom, with Particular Reference to Islam, by Mr. ‘Abdul-Qadir.
7. Origin and Development of the Company Laws of Islam, by Mr. Wahidullah Khan.
8. Muslim Conception of Liberty and Freedom, by Mr. ‘Abdus-Sattār.

9 Place of Fuqaha in Islamic system of Law.

Among the resolutions passed by the Conference the following are of Islamic interest —

In legal teaching more attention should be paid to oriental theories than has so far been the case

It is desirable that an annual survey of world laws should be undertaken

Law Exhibition

It was a novel idea to organise a Law Exhibition in order to make the Law Conference more popular and attractive and it was a great success. Hon. Dr. Sir Mahdī Yār Jung Bahādur, the Education Member, performed the opening ceremony. The entrance gate was decorated with the inspiring Qur'ānic quotation *وإدا حكمتم بين الناس ان تحكموا بالعدل*. The first room depicted justice in Hyderabad, old and new. The legal publications of Hyderabad fitted many a stall. The books compiled by Osmania Law Graduates were in five languages. The scenes of old Islamic courts of Cordova and Baghdad and the Dirra (whip) bore a favourable contrast with the "Chamber of Horrors," representing mediæval religious persecution and inquisition in the West.

The history of Islamic Law had many attractive features. "The first written constitution in the world" was promulgated by the Prophet. Sarakhsīy was imprisoned in the well, for several years on political grounds and he never ceased lecturing to his pupils who assembled over the side of the well. These extempore lectures of his dictated from memory have filled —

(a) Thirty folio volume of *كتاب المسوط* (printed in Cairo)

(b) Four stout volumes of *شرح السیر الکبیر* (printed in Hyderabad)

(c) About a thousand pages of *اصول الفقه* (MS. Sa'idiyah Library, Hyderabad)

The *Fatāwā Kāfūriya* was dedicated to Malik Kāfūr, the first conqueror of Deccan (MS. Ihyā'ul-Ma'ārif Society). The seven folio volumes of *Fatāwā Tātār Khāniya* were a pride of Deccan ever since their compilation during the Tughluq period. Even the president of the compiling committee of *Fatāwā 'Ālamgīriya*, Mullā Nizāmuddīn had hailed from Deccan and completed his work probably in Aurangabad.

Large wall-maps depicted the genealogy of Muslim schools of Law and the codifications of Hadīth. The Tagore Law lectures also contained several books on Muslim Law. The Swiney Prize Publications (equivalent to "Nobel Prize" in Law) had great attraction as also several rooms occupied by medical jurisprudence.

The Conference has wisely decided to have a permanent house in the Osmania University, under a Standing Committee of the All-India working Committee.

The Conference published a very interesting booklet, *Law and Justice in Hyderabad*, which may be had from the Law Union, Osmania University. Another تذکرہ شعبہ قانون describing the history of the Osmania Law Faculty and its great achievements was being printed while these lines were being written

During the Conference, the local daily *Rahbar-e-Deccan* brought out a very learned special number with several articles of Islamic interest

M H.

All-India Urdu Congress Exhibition.

THE exhibition was opened by Nawab Salar Jung Bahadur His Excellency Nawab Saheb of Chhatari, Nawab Sir Mahdi Yar Jung Bahadur, Nawab Khusru Jung Bahadur, Hon'ble Mr Ghulam Muhammad, Nawab Alam Yar Jung Bahadur and other nobles and high officials of the State attended the function

As the visitor enters the Exhibition Hall, he confronts a skilfully executed portrait of His Exalted Highness the Nizam whose patronage of the Urdu language has become proverbial. Close to the portrait was placed in a glass show-case the poetical verses of His Exalted Highness, which was kindly lent by Nawab Sir Amin Jung Bahadur. These works had been for the first time displayed to the general public

It is high time that our country should be made exhibition-minded and well-planned exhibitions based on scientific lines should be arranged as often as possible. These exhibitions may represent various branches of learning and the different phases of life, their educative value is remarkable and even a layman may be initiated in the desired subject, and may have a general and comprehensive idea of the concerned subjects in a popular and easily understandable manner with the help of graphs, statistics, illustrations, photographs and actual objects of interest.

The exhibition was arranged in connection with All-India Urdu Congress in the Departmental Progress Pavilion, Public Gardens, which was an ideal example of the type. With the help of skilfully prepared graphs and charts the extent, scope and history of the Urdu language were illustrated in a lucid and instructive manner. The comparative statement showing the number of people who spoke Indian languages, the number of dailies, weeklies and monthlies, issued in each language showed a mark of preference in favour of Urdu and clearly established its claim for an all-India language.

There was an enthusiastic response both from the Hyderabad Dominions and from outside

Afzal-ul-Ulema Khan Bahadur Dr. 'Abdul-Haq, Principal, Muhammadan College, Madras, had sent his valuable collection of MSS and books.

His illustrations and renderings of the verses of Iqbal were very much appreciated. The librarian of the Rampur Library, Mr. Imtiāz 'Alī 'Arshi, had also sent a few interesting books for display. Among the local institutions the Idāra-i-Adabiyāt-i-Urdu displayed not only its enormous and valuable publications but also its rare collection of valuable and unique MSS, autographs of luminaries like Shibli, Ḥālī and Iqbal. The corrections made by the famous poet Dāgh on the poems of Hyderabad nobles attracted considerable attention.

The collection of Agha Hyder Hasan, Professor of Urdu, Nizam College, was also the focus of general attention. The miniature paintings of old poets and MS copies of the early Urdu poets were presented in his collection in an enormous number.

A special section was dedicated to the publications of the ladies of Hyderabad. A chart of these publications prepared by Mr. Nasīruddīn Hāshimī was most instructive. Among the authoresses the names of Mrs. Sughra Humāyūn Mirza, Mrs. Barkat Rai, Mrs. Khalil-uz-Zaman, Sayyida Akhtar deserve special mention.

Another section was dedicated to the authors of the Deccan whose books on nearly all scientific and literary subjects were displayed. Among them the names of Nawab 'Aziz Jung Bahadur, Mr. Nasīruddīn Hāshimī and others attracted special attention.

The Association of the Graduates of the Osmania University covered considerable space in the circle where the academic products of the Osmania University Graduates were displayed. The Association had also lent to the exhibition its complete set of the books that had been rendered into Urdu by the Translation Bureau, and thus the valuable effort of this institution in enriching the language were placed before the scholars and the general public.

Mrs. Sughra Humāyūn Mirza had evinced keen interest in the exhibition by lending her valuable collection of books and autographs. A few lines written in Urdu to her by Mr. Gandhi were of great interest.

The Central Hall was occupied by the valuable collection of rare books that were lent by Nawab Salar Jung Bahadur consisting of the MS Diwan of Muhammad Qulī Quṭb Shāh and other eminent poets, and also of some rare and the earliest publications in Urdu.

Bazm-i-Iqbal had helped in making the exhibition a success by lending its valuable collection of Iqbalīyāt and the illustrated verses of Iqbal. Nawab Hasan Yar Jung Bahadur and Mr. Syed 'Abdul-Vāhid deserve our thanks for their interest in this respect.

Mr. Dildār Husain, Superintending Engineer, had lent a letter of Mīr Anīs which recorded his visit to Hyderabad, and had importance for its contents.

Mr. Habibullāh of the Accountant-General's Office had lent a valuable MS copy of *Diwan* of Wālī which contained several unpublished verses.

Mr Farhatullāh Bēg had lent an original portrait of the famous poet, Mo'min Khān, which was a very good specimen of the art of the period

The efforts of Mr Sajjad Mirza in popularising and simplifying the Naskh type were creditably displayed in the section which was allotted to the Teachers' Training College. The College had also displayed Urdu literary charts which were very instructive and a plaster model of the poet, Ghālib.

The Government Central Press made a most creditable show of its meritorious services rendered by it to Urdu type

The section allotted to the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu Book Depot was very tastefully decorated and had displayed all the latest Urdu publications in a most attractive manner

The India Book-House, Jāmī'a Millia Book Depot, Dār-ul-Mutalī'a, Nampallī, the Sahih Qā'ida, Razvi & Co, and the Mahbubia Book-Binding Works had put up a very good show

K M A

DECCAN

The Origin of Bombay

DR B A Saletore has published a short article on the *Origin of Bombay* in the *Journal of the University of Bombay* (July 1944). This is not a new problem as it has already occupied the attention of many scholars. Following the article of Dr Saletore we note in the *Hobson-Jobson* (pp 102-103) and Dr Kalepeci's remarks, and come to the conclusion that it is more or less a corruption of *Mumba Devi*, 'who was the patron deity of the Kolis. Mumba Devi's temple stood on the central island which, in the course of time, during Portuguese possession, came to be called Mombain'. As far as Muslim relations with this part of India are concerned, we can safely say that Thana and Sopara, the present suburbs of Bombay, have been the haunts of the Arabs from the very early days and when 'the civil administration of this part of the country passed into the hands of the Muslims in the thirteenth century, it was Mahim that was favoured by them because of its more favourable geographical position'. After this the Portuguese came to trade on the Western Coast of India in the sixteenth century. The writer of the note in the *Hobson-Jobson* says that 'the name can be traced long before the Portuguese occupation, long before the arrival of the Portuguese in India'. We find that the word *Munbi* or *Munbai* which, according to some authorities, have been corrupted into the present form 'Bombay', is found in Muslim publications made in Bombay during the last century till 1218 A.H./1865 A.D. According to such publications it means that this old form *Munbi* was in vogue

particularly among the Muslims, therefore it becomes necessary for us to trace the philological aspects of the word *Munbi* from Muslim point of view which we fortunately find in the Persian dictionaries, for instance in Steingass p. 1321 and *Farhang-i-Ānandrāj*, III, p. 422, “*Munbi*, who gives information, makes known, brings news.” It leads us to believe that, according to the expression of the word *Munbi* given here from Persian dictionaries, it has some bearing upon the present form of word *Bombay*, and besides, this part of the country from the very beginning has been the source of communication or information with the outside world. Moreover, the word *Mumba* has neither any connection with Hindu mythology or theology nor it is of Sanskrit origin

Muslim Coins

The Journal of the Numismatic Society of India, Bombay (Dec 1943) has some interesting articles dealing with coins of the Muslim period. *The Sanskrit Legend on Bilingual Tankas of Mahmūd Ghaznī* by Dr V S Agarwala. He thinks that the key to the correct understanding of the inscription of the coin is to be found in the fact that the Sanskrit version represents an honest attempt to render faithfully the sense of the Arabic original on the obverse side. In the Arabic text, therefore, lies the key to its right interpretation. The two versions are presented below —

Sanskrit	Arabic
1. Avyaktameka	لا اله الا الله
2. Muhammāda Avatara	محمد رسول الله
3. Nrpati Mahamūda	يحيى الدولة
4. Abvyaktiya Nāme	وامين سم الله
5. Ayam Tankam	الدرهم
6. Hata	صرب
7. Mahamūdapura	محمود پور
8. Ghatita	صرب
9-10. Tājikīyera Samvatī	سنة
11-12. 418, (419)	(٤١٩) ٤١٨

The above Sanskrit rendering should be credited to one who had a good knowledge of the philosophical concept of the Divinity in both the Hindu and Muslim theologies. It also represents that even at such an early stage both the Hindus and Muslims had learnt each other's languages as an indispensable necessity of the day. *A Gold Coin of Muhammad b Tughlaq* by S A Shere. It seems necessary to point out that the writers on Muslim coins or inscriptions should feel their responsibility of giving

correct pronunciation of Muslim names. For instance, the word *Tughlaq* given here, ought to have been rendered as 'Tughluq'. For their satisfaction and guidance it seems sufficient to cite here the *Rehla* of Ibn-Battūtah (Cairo, 1928, II, p. 30) *A Rare Ilāhi Fulus of Akbar of Gorakhpur Mint* by P. L. Gupta, *A New Coin of Mahmūd, son of Muhammad b. Sām* by C. R. Singhal. The writer could have shown that this Mahmūd son of Muhammad b. Sām is different from the well-known Sultān Mu'izz'ud-Dīn Muhammad b. Sām. The last Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society of India which was held at Aligarh, was presided over by R. B. Prayag Dayal. His presidential address published in this issue devotes very little space to Muslim coins.

Muslim Inscriptions

Recently the Baroda State Archæological Department has published its *Memoir* No. III, dealing with *Muslim Inscriptions* from the Baroda State. This important publication is commendable in many respects. It bears only twelve inscriptions published under the editorship of Mr. G. Yazdani and Mr. R. G. Gayani. They range from Tughluq period to the nineteenth century of the Christian era. The first bilingual inscription, dated A. H. 740, belongs to the period of Sultān Muhammad Tughluq edited by Mr. Gayani. It was found from the village Karkhadī which was also recorded in the text as Karkarī. When we carefully study both the Sanskrit and Persian versions side by side, we find that the Persian version has not been faithfully deciphered. The inscriptions of the Gujarat Sultanate bear very useful information. The inscription VII of the period of Shāhjahān is also bilingual, i.e., Persian and Gujarati-Hindī, which has been ably edited by Mr. Yazdani. From this inscription one can easily trace the development of the Urdu language although it is written in Devanagiri characters.

Sāhib-i-Jamāl

The Indian Film Companies have made a practice to represent Indian historical episodes in one corrupted form or other, giving them historical importance, simply with a view to cater for the public taste, without caring for the accuracy of the history of the event and ignoring the original sources. For instance, recent writers have already staged the drama of *Anārkali* and a further attempt might still be made in Bombay, although the drama as represented had no historical background. The correct information for the so-called *Anārkali* mausoleum at Lahore and the lady buried therein, we refer our readers to the *Islamic Culture*, 1935, p. 618, and *Indian Culture*, Calcutta, Vol. V, pp. 105-109. In reality this monument at Lahore is the mausoleum of Sāhib-i-Jamāl, one of the

wives of Salīm (later on Emperor Jahāngīr), (vide *Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, Eng. Tr. I, 18-19), who died on 15th of the month of Tīr during the 44th regnal year of Akbar (1008 A.H.) (vide *Akbar Nāma*, III, 757). The date of death 1008 is also inscribed on the sarcophagus. She was the daughter of Khwāja Hasan, the uncle of Zayn Khān Koka and she was the mother of prince Parwēz (vide *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, Eng. Tr. 1932, p. 323, *Jahāngīr* by Beni Parshad, p. 30).

Art Find

In the last issue of the *Islamic Culture* (p. 325), we had noted under this heading something regarding the specimen of calligraphy attributed to Prince Khurram (later on Shāhjahān) from the Patna Museum. On the reverse of the same specimen one miniature was also referred to which was not discussed. Fortunately exactly the same miniature has already been reproduced in the *Asiatische Miniaturenmalerei*, Wien, 1933, pl. 31 and fig. 94. The description of this miniature given in this German publication runs thus: "Hindusket mit Schuler und Hund Kalkutta Indian Museum, datiert 622 H mit der Unterschrift Schah Khurrams (nach Originalphoto des Museums)" i.e., according to this German publication the original miniature along with the specimen of calligraphy belongs to the Calcutta Indian Museum. Now it lies with the authorities of the museum or the writer of the article to decide about its actual ownership. Fortunately, the next issue of the *Journal of the Bihar Research Society* (XXX, pt. 1,) bears one article on a rare MS. of the *Tuhfat-u-Salātīn*. Its flying page, reproduced along with the article, has autographs of both Jahāngīr and Shāhjahān which bear the usual word حرره (written by) as we had in our last note pointed out to be the practice of the princes.

Some Points on the History of Maharashtra

At the Annual Meeting of the Bharat Itihasa Samshodhak Mandal, Poona, one of the members of the Mandal read a short paper dealing with some important points about the history of Maharashtra —

(a) According to 'Isamī's *Futūhu's-Salātīn* (p. 496) Hasan Bahmanī, before his accession to the throne of the Deccan as the first Bahmanī Sultan under the title of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Abu'l-Muzaffar Bahman Shāh, on the abdication of Ismā'il Mukh, held two towns, viz., Hukeri and Badgaon as his fief in the Deccan —

چین آمد از قرعه سان دلیل	که دیهم نه بر سر اسمعیل
چو در گوش کرد اسمعیل این سخن	نگفتا نه ام در حور ملک من

حس نام بردے اسب او در حورست	کہ جائش سرحد این کنورست
ہکیری و ندگیو اقطاع اوست	بترتیب ماهرنگ ازوی فروسب
ہرکار چون نام خود احسب اسب	جیراع حوتن از دودہ ہمست
بحواہم اورا دریں بحد گاہ	کہ سانان برسب او بہ بحد و کلاہ

Hukeri is on the Hubli-Miraj railway line, forty miles from Miraj towards Hubli, and Badgaon is on the Poona-Miraj railway line, six miles from Miraj towards Poona. Both of these are important stations.

(b) According to Firishta (Persian text, I 277) the boundaries of the first Sultān 'Alā'ud-Dīn Bahmanī's kingdom extended from the river Pauna to the vicinity of the fortress of Adony and from the ports of Chaul and Dabhul to the city of Bidar. Briggs (II, 291) translates this text of Firishta thus: "From river Beema to the fortress of Adony and from the port of Chaul to the city of Bidar." If we accept the river Beema as the boundary, as Briggs has expressed it, it will be absolutely ambiguous, because the river Beema which generally occurs in the history of Bahmanī kingdom flows through the district of Gulbarga, and, therefore, it is certainly the river Pauna which according to the *Bombay Gazetteer* (v xvii, pt 1, p 9, Poona) is in the Poona district —

"The Pauna rises on the crest of the Sahyadris south of the range of hills which forms the southern border of the Indrayani valley and includes the fortified summits of the Lohogadh and Visapur. It flows at first nearly east along the winding vale of Pauna or Pauna-Mauval hill, leaving the rugged westlands, it runs south-east and after a very winding course, joins the Mulla from north near Dapudi. At the village of Ambegaon, about six miles east of its course, the bed of the Pauna is about 1820 above the sea."

(c) Dr S Balkrishna and Apte have published Persian documents with their reproductions and translation dealing with the history of the Mudhol State in their respective works, viz, *Sivaji the Great* and *The History of Mudhol* (Marathi). The Persian documents deal with the grants made by the Muslim rulers of the Deccan to the ruling family of Mudhol. Dr. B. A. Saletore tried to prove these documents as spurious (vide *The Authenticity of Mudhol Farmans*, New Indian Antiquary, 1939, pp. 6-24, while Mr G. H. Khare opposed it (vide *Dr Saletore, the Authenticity of Mudhol Farmans*, New Indian Antiquary, 1940, pp. 186-196). The first Farman shows that a grant was made in 753 A.H./1352 A.D. by the first Bahmanī Sultān, i.e., Sultān 'Alā'ud-Dīn Bahmanī. A careful examination of the reproduction reveals that the name of the grantee, or whom it was addressed, seems to have been missing, and he was the son of Sajan Singh and grandson of Ajai Singh. Dr Balkrishna has taken the missing name as Dalip Singh (op cit p 38). One more important point is this that the name of the Sultān noted in the Persian document is 'Husan' instead of Hasan. The contemporary history of Sultān 'Alā'-ud-

Dīn Hasan Bahmanī's period, the *Futūhu's-Salātīn*, composed by 'Isamī at his court in 751 A H /1350 A D tells us that the Sultān 'Alā'-ud-Dīn Hasan Bahmanī started from Sagar to Mudhol with a view to crush one Narayan who according to the *Burhān-i-Ma'āthir* was the then ruler of Telangana. Narayan offered resistance and fled away. Mudhol fort was besieged by the Sultān. Narayan then made a night attack on the forces of Sultān and later on was defeated and had to tender apology. Sultān forgave him and returned (Isamī, pp 556-561)

دراں جو در حصرت شہر یار سے معذرت کرد سرمدہ وار
فرستاد آنگہ دو سالہ حراج بدیوب آئندہ را ساد و ناح
ر سدھول در حادب مرح زاند مہے یک دو در قلعہ مرح ماند

M A C.

DELHI

The Death of a Great Missionary

ON Thursday, the 13th July passed away a great saint and divine, Maulānā Muhammad Ilyās Sāhib Kāndhalwī. The Maulānā had been ailing for some time and so his death was not quite unexpected, yet it cast a gloom over the city of Delhi and the area of Mēwāt, which had benefited so much by the Maulānā's efforts. Mēwāt has a large Muslim population, consisting predominantly of Meos. The Meos, who have given their name to this area, are a brave, well-organized clan. They have their peculiar customs and characteristics and their qualities remind us of the tribesmen of the Afghan border. They are poor, backward, steeped in ignorance and superstition. Their qualities of organization attracted some notice when, tired of the misgovernment in Alwar, they agitated against chronic misrule. Such is the extent of their ignorance that a Meo proverb says that if a Meo gets educated, he should be buried ten miles away from a Meo habitation. Such an ignorant, proud, conservative and warlike people the Maulānā undertook to reform. His ceaseless efforts have produced a number of schools, mosques, and, what is more important, Meo workers fully conscious of the need of reforming their community and devoted to their task. The Maulānā's methods were adopted from his spiritual ancestors, the Sūfis. He lived an austere life, denying himself all luxury, even comfort and rest. His nights were spent in long vigils and prayers and his days in preaching. His single-minded devotion and purity of life drew to him men of all classes. At his feet sat intellectuals conversant with Western learning, 'Ulema, Sūfis. In his company were men who reminded a visitor of the early Muslims. The atmosphere was deeply spiritual. For the Maulānā was a practical man, his conver-

sations and preaching, bereft of all ornamentation or rhetoric were to the point, his simple words went home because of his sincerity and earnestness. He brooked no idlers around him. When he was on his death-bed, he did not like people to leave their work of preaching and flock around him. To anxious inquirers after his condition he said, "I am all right, you are my disease—you leave the important work of Tablīgh and come to me." He endeavoured to follow in the footsteps of his great master, the Prophet, and the beauty of his life was his most potent weapon. He, therefore, without any resources, achieved in a short time what large organizations could not achieve in years. Yet his mission is by no means complete and one hopes and prays that his followers under the guidance of his successor and disciple, Maulānā Muhammad Yūsuf may be given the strength, perseverance and inspiration to continue his great work. Islam mourns the loss of a great son in the death of Maulānā Muhammad Ilyās Sāhib Kandhalvī.

انا لله وانا اليه راجعون

May the Maulānā's soul rest in peace and may God bless the work he has left behind!

A Book on Muslim Education

The Nadawat-ul-Musannifīn has published a book on Muslim education by Maulānā Manāzır Ahsan Gīlānī called *Musalmānōn-kā-Nizām-ı-Ta'lim wa Tarbiyat*. The Maulānā has given an illuminating history of Muslim education in India and has mostly drawn upon original sources. The book is, therefore, scholarly, but the chief value of the work lies in the constructive proposals regarding the future. He rightly deplores the wide division which has taken place between the old fashioned theological institutions and modern secular schools and colleges which have paralyzed the growth of Islam as a great intellectual and spiritual force in India. This is but the first volume of the work and educationists look forward to the publication of the second volume.

The Burhān

This Journal has kept up its standard, though its last number appears in a greatly reduced form owing to a more stringent paper control by the Government. There are thoughtful articles on tolerance in Islam, the conserving of Islamic traditions and contemporary scholasticism in Islam.

The Urdu.

This quarterly organ of the Anjuman-ı-Taraqqī-ı-Urdū has been kept up at its usually high standard. The articles on Munshī Iqbal Varmā

Sahr Hitgimī (April), on Fakhr-u'd-Daulah Nawāb Mirzā 'Alā-u'd-Dīn Ahmad Khān 'Alā'ī and on Modern "Progressive" Literature (July) deserve mention.

Study Groups on the Middle East

Delhi is the headquarters of the Indian Institute of International Affairs. The Institute has recently organized a study group for the Middle East which has at present divided itself into committees to localise investigation on Persia, Afghānistan, the Persian Gulf, 'Irāq and Turkey. It is hoped that the results of their investigations will be published. After finishing work on these countries, the group will take up the Arab countries.

I H Q

NORTH-EASTERN INDIA

THE Ma'ārif (Azamgarh), has, during the period under review, published many useful articles, some of which deserve special mention here. Maulānā Zafar Ahmad of Theology Department, Dacca University, gives a learned discourse on the contributions made to Hadith in India after Shāh Waliullah, the famous religious luminary of the 17th century A.D. Some of these works along with their authors may be succinctly mentioned here for panoramic views of our readers.

(1) *الحواهر المبيحة في ادلة الامام ابي حنيفة* by Sayyid Murtada Bilgrami (1205 A.H.) who discusses in this book Hanafi laws in the light of the Hadith, (2) *ستان المحدثين* (History of the Traditionists), *عجالة نافع* (on Principles of Hadith), by Shāh 'Abdul 'Azīz of Delhi (1339 A.H.), (3) *مظاهر حق* an Urdu translation of *مستكواة* by Shāh Muhammad Ishāq (1262 A.H.) who had many learned pupils, some of whom wrote the following books. Nawāb Siddiq Hasan Khān, besides adding the fourth chapter in *مستكواة* compiled several commentaries of *تلوع المرام* explanatory notes on *الروضة الدية* as well as on *ادلہ بحاری* entitled *الحطه على الصالح أسسه*. Maulāna Shams'ul Haq of 'Azimabad was the author of *عون المعبود* which is a commentary of *سنن ابی داؤد*. His brother Maulana Abū Tayyeb also wrote its commentary in several volumes called *عایه المقصود*. A treatise *اعلام العصر* is also one of his works. Maulānā 'Abdur-Rahmān Mubarakpurī compiled a commentary on Tirmidhi, entitled *تحفة الا حودی*; (4) *ايجاج الحاحه*

explanatory notes on *سبب ابن ماجة* by Shāh 'Abdul-Ghanī of Delhi (1296 A H), (5) *حاشية بخارى سريفة* marginal notes on Bukhari, by Shaikh Ahmad 'Alī of Sahāranpur (1297 A.H.), who wrote also *الدليل القوي* discussing the inadvisability of reading *سورة فاتحه* behind an Imām in congregation, (6) Profuse marginal notes on the last five chapters of Bukhari by Maulānā Muhammad Qāsim, the founder of Dār'ul-'Ulūm, Deoband; (7) *التعليق الممجد على الموطأ للمحمد* marginal notes on *موطأ* along with an elaborate history of Hadīth in the preface by 'Abdul-Hai of Lucknow (1304 A H), (8) *تسبيح النظام* which is a commentary of *مسند امام ابوحنيفة* by Maulānā Muhammad Hasan of Sambhal (1305 A H) (9) Marginal notes on *التعليق الممجد* by Maulānā Fakhr'ul Hasan of Gangoh, (10) *آثار السبب* along with its marginal notes *التعليق الحسن* which support Hanafi laws in the light of the Hadīth, by Maulānā Zahīr Hasan Shauq Nimvī (1322 A H), (11) *الكواكب الدرية* and *الفتح السدي* which are discourses on the various aspects of Hadīth, by Maulana Rashīd Ahmad of Gangoh, (12) Marginal notes on *عظم وحي- ابو داؤد* which is a commentary of *بدء الوحي* and explanatory notes on some chapters of Bukhari by Maulānā Mahmūd Hasan of Deoband (1339 A H), (13) *سبب ابى داؤد* which is a commentary (in five volumes) of *بدء الوحي* by Maulānā Khalīl Ahmad of Sahāranpūr; (14) *فصل الباري* (discourses on Bukhari in four volumes, printed in Egypt), *العرف السدي* (elucidation of Tirmidhi in two volumes), commentary of *ابو داؤد* in two volumes, explanatory notes on *سبب ابن ماجة* and several booklets, viz., *قراء فاتحه حلف الامام، صلوة الوبر* and *رفع اليدين* by Maulānā Sayyid Anwar Shāh of Kashmere (1354 A H) (15) *السعة السياره*, (biographical notices of some traditionists), *المسك الذكي* and *الثواب الحلي* (marginal notes on Tirmidhi), *التعرف باحاديث التصوف* a collection of forty verses of Hadīth, *جهل حديث* (a discourse on mysticism in the light of Hadīth), *احياء السنن وجامع الآثار ونباح الآثار* and *اعلاء السنن* in twenty volumes (dealing with the laws and the dogmas of the Hanafites in the light of Hadīth) by Hakīm-ul-Ummat Maulānā Ashraf 'Alī Thanvī (died in 1362 A H.); (16) *فتح الملهم في شرح صحيح المسلم* (elucidations of Sahīh Muslim) by Maulānā Shabbīr Ahmad, Professor in Hadīth, Dabhl, (17) *اواخر المسالك في شرح الموطأ للمالك* (explanatory notes on Imām Mālik's *موطأ*) by Maulānā Muhammad Zakriya, (18) *سبب كواهد سردي* (explanatory notes on *التعليق الصريح على مسكوه المصابيح*) in six volumes by Maulānā Muhammad Idris It has been printed

in Egypt.

Maulānā Owais Nadvī, in another article of the *Ma'ārif*, has thrown some illuminating sidelights on *Tafsīr Kābīr* which, according to him, was not exclusively the work of Imām Fakhr'uddīn Rāzī, but was collaborated Shams'uddīn Khalīl of Damascus (died in 637 A.H.), Najm'uddīn Qamulī (died in 727 A.H.) and other scholars whose names should be traced. The cataloguer of the Khadīviyah Library, Egypt, on the authority of Khafajī's *Shafā'* (سقاء), says that Imām Rāzī wrote the *Tafsīr* till سورة الانبياء, Maulānā Shiblī No'amānī, the well-known Urdu scholar, is of opinion that the Imam compiled it till سورة الفتح. The writer of the above article differs from these views and asserts that the internal evidences prove that some parts of the *Tafsīr* preceding سورة الفتح were not written by the Imām. For example, in the *Tafsīr* of سورة يس there occur the following lines

واستحسنه فخرالدين الرازى رحمه الله سمعته يترحم عليه بسبب هذا الكلام

(and Imām Rāzī liked this, and for Imām Ghazzālī's point, I found Rāzī praying for him). This shows that these lines were written by a person other than Imām Rāzī. The writer adds further that after the *Tafsīr* of سورة يس there are mentioned dates and the Imam's name after the *Tafsīr* of the different Surahs has been completed. This shows that the Imam did not write the *Tafsīr* continuously, but wrote it in parts and the incomplete parts were completed by his collaborators whose names could be gathered after a deep study of the *Tafsīr*. For example, in Surah ٥ in the course of the *Tafsīr* of the verse وما انا بظلام للعبيد there has been mentioned the name of a contemporary scholar, Imām Zauddīn, whose identity has not yet been known. If the accounts of the scholars referred to in the *Tafsīr* are known, their respective collaborations might then be easily discriminated. The writer of the above article has given in the end a list of Imām Rāzī's different works on *Tafsīr* which are not so generally known, viz (1), تفسير سورة فاتحه which according to the author of مفاتيح العلوم was in two volumes, and entitled كشف الطون, (2) تفسير سورة نقره. The author of طبقات الاطباء is of opinion that, تفسير سورة نقره and تفسير سورة فاتحه were, besides the تفسير كسر two different works of Imām Rāzī, (3) تفسير صغير is also known as اسرار الترييل وانوار التاويل a copy of which is in the Oriental Library, Patna. This has been referred to in the كشف الطون and Abul-Wafa Nāṣir Horainī was greatly profited by this treatise in his *Tafsīr* of سورة ملك. But this treatise can better be called a work on scholasticism; (4) رساله في السه على بعض الاسرار المودعه في بعض سور القرآن العظيم has been mentioned in طبقات الاطباء, (5) درة الترييل وعرة التاويل, (6) طبقات الاطباء

to in كشف الظنون and a copy of which is in the Khadieviah Library, Egypt, although it is doubtful whether the book is of Imām Rāzī or of Abu-'Abdullah Muhammad bin 'Abdullāh al-Khatib Askafī, one of whose works bears the same title

Another article by Maulānā 'Abdus-Salām Nadvī deals with the life and works of Muwaffaqu'ddīn 'Abdul-Latif who was born at Baghdad in 557 A H and died there in 629 A H. He was one of the versatile Arab scholars and prolific writers. His numerous works, which are enumerated by Ibn Abī-Usaibī'a in two and a half pages, cover almost the whole domain of knowledge of those days. In Europe he became known principally with the help of a short description of Egypt which was translated into Latin, German, and French. According to the writer of the above article, Muwaffaqu'ddīn 'Abdul-Latif's criticisms on the philosophical thoughts of Aristotle and Avicenna are as commendable as those of Imām Rāzī, Ghazzālī, and Abul-Barakāt Baghdādī.

In an answer to a query, the above journal has given clue to the various works of Qutbuddīn Shirāzī, preserved in different libraries of the world. Qutbuddīn Shirāzī was born in 634 A H at Shirāz and died at Tabriz in 710 A H. He belonged to a family of distinguished physicians, and was not only a prominent medical man, but grew highly popular by his writings on astronomy, philosophy and the treatment of religious problems. He was regarded as the most favourite pupil of Nāsiruddīn Tūsī. His works as referred to in the *Ma'ārif* are the following: (1) هاية الادراك في روايه الافلاك which contains four discourses in Arabic on astronomy. Its manuscript is preserved in the Khadieviah Library, Egypt, and Madrasa Sipah Salar, Teheran, (2) النجدة الساعية which is an account of Arabic cosmography with mathematical calculations (3) شرح حكمه الاسراق is a commentary on Suhrawardī's *Hikmat-al-Ishrāq*. It was printed at Teheran in 1315 A H, (4) مفتاح المفتاح is a commentary of Sakkakī's encyclopædic work. This was the first commentary of the latter's abstruse book, and has been regarded by Hāji Khalīfa as one of the best commentaries of مفتاح. Preserved in the Dār-ul-Kutub, Egypt, and Madrasa Sipah Salar, Teheran, (5) النجدة السعيدة also known as Kulyāt is the first theoretical part of Avicenna's *Qānūn*. Shihābuddīn's النجدة السعيدة is reckoned as the most exhaustive commentary of *Kulyāt*. This was dedicated to Muhammad Sa'du'ddīn, Ahmad Khān's Vizier, and preserved in Madrasa Sipah Salar, Teheran, (6) شرح مختصر الاصول ابن حاص which has been referred to in the preceding two books; (7) فتح الممان في تفسير القرآن is a *Tafsīr* of the Holy Qur'ān in forty volumes. Its first volume is preserved in the Khadieviah Library, Egypt; (8) A commentary of Zamakhsharī's الكشف لطائف التبريل;

حاشيته برحكمه العين (9) marginal notes on Najmuddin Qazwini's book رساله في بيان الحقائق (10), and has already been printed, (10) الطب وآداب الاطباء is a treatise on medicine, a copy of which is in the Khadieviah Library, Egypt It was transcribed in 913 A.H., (11) دره التاج لعنه الديباج (11) is an encyclopædia of philosophical sciences written after the model of Avicenna's كتاب السعاه It was written at the instance of Amīr Debaj bin Feel Shāh, between 693 and 705 A.H. and has been printed Other works of Qutbuddin Shirāzī mentioned in the *Encyclopædia of Islam* may be supplemented here, viz., (1) شرح بد كره (1) (on the motion of rolling and the connection between the straight and the crooked) This is an appendix to the *Nihāya*, mentioned above, (3) في الهيثه (4) نصره في الهيثه (4) كتاب فعمل فلا تلم which means work on astronomy, 'I have composed it, but blame it not,' (5) A commentary of Avicenna's *Urjuza*

The Shubli Academy, A'zamgarh, has produced the third volume of the History of Islam, which consists of the chronicles of the 'Abbasid dynasty from Abul-'Abbas-Saffāh (132 A.H.) to Abū-Ishāq Muttaqī-billah (333 A.H.) The book, consisting of 447 pages, is a storehouse of facts arranged in a picturesque and vigorous style. The career and character of the different rulers of the dynasty have been studied with admirable frankness and discrimination, and the whole narrative is uniformly marked by precision, clearness and grasp, leaving upon the minds of the readers a very vivid and complete impression of the period This volume will be followed by a survey of the period beginning from the reign of Mustak fi-billāh till the rise of the Būyids The literary and cultural achievements of the 'Abbasid will be treated at length in a separate volume

The Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society has, in its issue of March 1944, given prominence to a rare manuscript, *Tuhfat-us-Salātin*, dated 950 A.H. (1543 A.D.) transcribed by the illustrious calligraphist Amīr 'Alī and bearing the autographs of Jahāngīr and Shāhjahān with their chronograms on its fly-leaf It contains the selected verses of Amīr Shāhī, who was a reputed poet, eminent calligraphist and excellent painter and musician, and enjoyed the patronage of the accomplished and learned prince Baisanghar, son of Mirza Shāh Rukh of Kurasan Humāyūn got this manuscript as a present in Persia, and this was treasured in the Imperial Library of his successors till it was sent in Shāh 'Ālam's reign to Murshidabad with other valuables of the Imperial Library for safe custody with the then Nawab of Murshidabad, who was the Emperor's Viceroy in Bengal It remained there for about a century and a quarter when Mr P. C. Manuck, Bar.-at-law of Patna, obtained it some years back at Calcutta from a scion of the ruling family of Murshidabad. The manuscript is written in beautiful, clear Nasta'liq in panels of elegant narrow dimension.

Each title panel contains a single line of verse and three such panels are side by side in one horizontal line, but the last page of the manuscript contains only two such panels. The three lines with these three small panels make one and a half verses. Then above and below each set of the three small panels there are single letters in large bold and firm Nasta'liq style. Each folio has illuminated borders in flowers of gold on buff or pale or blue ground. The penmanship in the large writing with its bold and firm sweeps is exquisite and displays the masterhand of consummate skill of calligraphy in Nasta'liq. Shāhjahān cherished it as a precious gift and called it *Tuhfat-us-Salātin*.

Another article of the above journal deals with some aspects of Qutb Shāhi administration of Golconda with special reference to the duties and responsibilities attached to the officers of the Peshwa, Mīr Jumla, Sar-i-Khail, and Havaladar of Masulipatam. The officers mentioned specifically are Mansūr Khān Habshī (1926-28), Shaikh Muhammad (1334) and Mīr Muhammad Sa'īd.

The original illustrated manuscript of the Persian translation of the famous Sanskrit work *Harivamsha* was exhibited by Professor Mahfūzul-Haque of the Presidency College, Calcutta, at a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal held on the 7th August 1944. Professor Mahfuzul-Haque, in describing the Persian version said, "The translation was undertaken at the instance of the Emperor Akbar about 1585 and on its completion it was illustrated by the talented painters of the Royal Studio. The manuscript is a fine specimen of Nasta'liq calligraphy and contains about a dozen paintings in excellent Moghul style."

Professor M. Ishaque of the Calcutta University has made an interesting study of Minuchihiri in the *Indian Culture* of July-September 1943 (Calcutta) in which he has elucidated the following points. Daulat Shāh in his *Tadhkirah* has given the soubriquet 'Shast Kuleh' to Minuchihiri and subsequent writers following him have also affixed it to his name. But this nickname has nothing to do with him. It rather belongs to another poet Shamsuddīn Ahmad ibn Minuchihir of whom no reference is made in any other work except in *Rāhat-us-Sudur wa Āyāt-us-Surūr* by Najumuddīn 'Alī Bakr Muhammad ibn 'Alī Rawandī wherein his name has been mentioned as Amīr-ush-Shu'ara wa Safīr-ul-Kūbara Shamsuddīn Ahmad ibn Minuchihir Shast Kuleh. He flourished more than a century after Minuchihiri and lived during the rule of Seljuq Sultān Tughrīl ibn Arsalan (571-590 A.H.). Again, the view that Minuchihiri has written any panegyric on Sultān Mahmūd and his son Muhammad of Ghazna is erroneous, for the poet never came from Gujran and Tabaristan to Ghazna previous to the rule of Mas'ūd, and accordingly there is no panegyric either on Sultān Mahmūd or on Sultān Muhammad in his *Diwān*. Again, it is also incorrect to say that Minuchihiri sang the praise of Ahmad ibn Hasan Maimandī who died in 424 A.H., while Minuchihiri came to Sultān Mas'ūd's court in 426-27 A.H. He certainly

wrote Qasidas on Khwāja 'Abdul-Hamīd Ahmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Abdus-Samad who, after the death of Ahmad ibn Hasan Maimandī, became Sultān Mas'ūd's minister in 425 A.H. and continued to be so even during the rule of Maudūd ibn Mas'ūd (433-44 A.H.) Again, the author of *Khulāsat-ul-Afkar* says that Minuchihiri was a pupil of Abu'l-Faraj Sikzī. But this view is also erroneous. Abu'l-Faraj Sikzī or Simjuri flourished towards the end of the fourth century when Minuchihiri was a mere child. The author of *Majma'-ul-Fusaha* writes that Minuchihiri was 'Unsuri's pupil. This is also a mistake which has arisen from the fact that Minuchihiri, in his Qasida composed in the metaphor of a candle, has mentioned 'Unsuri' as Ustād (Master). Obviously he paid this compliment to 'Unsuri' as a mark of respect for acquiring his favour, for when he (Minuchihiri) was introduced to 'Unsuri' at the court of Ghazna, the former had already become a famous poet. Again, some of the poems and verses ascribed to Minuchihiri in the different editions of his *Diwān* lithographed in Teheran, as well as found in various works, are spurious.

The aforementioned journal publishes another article under the caption 'Sovereignty in Early Muslim India' by S. K. Banerje. This is exclusively a study of Sultān Iltutmish's kingship, which has thus been summed up, Iltutmish's kingship was the choice of the nobles and he was expected to stop the disintegration of the kingdom that had set in owing to the disorder in Ārām Shāh's reign. The expectation was fulfilled by the recovery of Sindh and Bengal. Iltutmish knit the kingdom well by disposing of his rivals and crushing the disobedient Hindu or Muslim chiefs. Amongst the latter he made no distinction between the Mu'izi or Qutbi nobles and those who had no such distinction. He was a generous and stern ruler. His policy towards the Hindus was marked by a mixture of firmness and conciliation. He subdued many of them in North India and Malwa but allowed their chiefs to have a local importance on condition of acknowledging his suzerainty. Similarly, he acknowledged the Hindu practices by imitating their decorations in his buildings or their symbols on coins. His greatest achievement was the establishment of the Shamsi order of the forty nobles who formed the cream of his civil and military services. His kingship was recognised by the Khalifa who was in theory the head of the Muslim world. Out of a reverence to the Khalifa he called himself the Sultān of the East. He ignored the Persian and Turkish princes, and even challenged them by assuming the title 'Master of the Kings of Persia and Turkistan.'

S. S.

NORTH-WESTERN INDIA

New Publications.

Maulānā Muḥammad 'Alī, President of the Ahmadiya Anjuman Ishā'at Islam, Lahore, is presumably already known to our readers as

the author of several standard works on the religion and history of Islam and as the first Muslim savant to translate the Qur'ān into a Western language. His great devotion to Islam has enabled him, at his present advanced age, to produce yet another work of interest and importance, viz., *A Manual of Hadīth*. It is a collection of the Traditions of the Prophet, arranged according to their subjects, such as Imān (faith), Revelation, Prayer, Alms, Fasting, Jihād, Marriage, Gifts, Wills and Inheritance, Foods and Drinks, etc. It is in fact a Compendium of *Sahīh Bukhārī*, which comprises all those Traditions which have a bearing upon the practical side of Islam. In order to make the treatise complete in this respect, the compiler has also drawn upon from other collections of Hadīth, especially the *Mishkāt*. The Arabic text of the Traditions and their English translation are given in parallel columns on the same page. The translation combines the qualities of accuracy, clarity and readability into a high degree. The general get-up of the book is elegant, and its moderate price of Rs. 10 should place it within the reach of a large number of readers. Like other works of the Maulānā, this can be had from the Ahmadiya Anjuman Ishā'at Islam, Brandreth Road, Lahore.

Maulāna Muhammad 'Alī has also recently published a booklet under the title of *The New World Order*. In this small book the learned author has tried to offer a solution for the various evils from which humanity is suffering these days. He takes the various social and economic problems with which mankind is confronted at present and discusses the solution which Islam offers in each case. The Islamic doctrines are, of course, all derived from the Qur'ān and the Hadīth, and they have been set forth with the author's proverbial learning and lucidity of exposition. The appearance of this booklet is very opportune in the present time of universal post-war planning, and we feel no hesitation in saying that the veteran Maulānā has rendered a distinct service by calling attention to a number of characteristic Islamic doctrines which have operated as civilising forces in the past and which are still capable of acting as powerful regenerative factors in the uplift of humanity.

The Publishing House of Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf of Lahore has brought out several new books in recent months. A few years ago, that keen student of modern Islam and Arabic scholar of great repute, Amīr Shakīb Arsalān, tried to diagnose the political and social decay of the contemporary Muslim world in an essay, entitled *لماذا نأخر المسلمون*. It has now been put into English by Mr. M. A. Shakoor, M. A. (Alig), and has been published in the form of a decent booklet. It deals with a problem of fundamental importance for the Muslims which the author has discussed with a rare penetrative insight. He has studied the political situation in the Arabic world in particular at close quarters, and, therefore, his thoughtful and instructive book should be read by every serious person who wants to understand the causes of the decline of the Muslims or is interested in their reform and regeneration.

The other recent publications of Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf deal with the various aspects of the thoughts of Iqbal. *Iqbal His Art and Thought*, by Syed 'Abdul-Vāhid, B A (Oxon.) of Hyderabad. The chief reason for publishing it has been the author's genuine desire in helping others to be able to understand Iqbal. In the opinion of the author, the contemporary sources of information about the personality and philosophy of Iqbal are fast disappearing, and every effort should therefore be made to utilize them while they are still available. The author further feels that the study of Iqbal has been a source of great spiritual strength to him, and he hopes that the readers of his study might experience a similar uplifting influence. The book has been printed at the Government Central Press, Hyderabad, and its pleasing get-up is in keeping with the best traditions of its tasteful workmanship.

Even the letters of Iqbal possess a unique value for understanding his personality and thought. Sh Muhammad Ashraf has acquired by collecting about three hundred letters which Iqbal wrote on different occasions to a number of eminent scholars and men of affairs in India, and has published them under the title of مکتبہ اقبال. This collection includes those addressed to Syed Sulaimān Nadwī, Sir Ross Mas'ūd, M 'Abdul-Mājid Daryābādī, Dr Syed Zafar-ul-Hasan, M Akbar Shāh Najībābādī, etc. They are written in a simple, direct and natural style, and are free from conventional formality. In his letters Iqbal reveals himself with frankness and touches on many and varied subjects of absorbing interest with illuminating effect.

The Iqbal Academy of Lahore is doing much useful work by popularising the study of Iqbal's works. An Urdu translation of his *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* is being published serially in the monthly periodical of the Academy, called *Paighām-i-Haqq*. The Academy has recently published a number of other useful books and pamphlets in Urdu, viz., A Commentary by Mr. M Yūsuf Khān Salīm, B A., on Iqbal's *Asrār-i-Khudī*, *Ta'limāt Iqbāl*, a set of contributions on the teachings of Iqbal from various authors, *Iqbāl ka Taṣawwūr-i-Zamān-o-Makān* or Iqbal's Conception of Time and Space by Dr. Radī-ud-Dīn of the Osmania University; *Iqbāl ke Chand Jawāhīr Rēzay*, in which Khwāja 'Abdul-Hamid of the Government College, Lahore, has given his personal impressions of Iqbal; *Mawt-o-Hayāt Iqbāl ke Kalām men* by Dr. Radī-ud-Dīn, *Haqīqat-i-Nifāq* by M Sadr-ud-Dīn Islāhī; *Ifādāt-i-Shāh Walī-Ullāh* by the same author; *Ishtirākīyat aur Islām* by M Muhammad Mazhar-ud-Dīn Siddiqī, *Muhammad 'Abduh*, an Urdu translation by the same author of the chapter from Charles Adam's book, *Islam and Modernism in Egypt*, dealing with that great Muslim divine, *Hamārē Hindustānī Musulmān*, an Urdu translation by Dr. Ṣādiq Ḥusain of W. W. Hunter's famous work, *Our Indian Musulmans*, and *al-Munabbihāt 'ala-l-Ishtidād-li-Yaum il Ma'ād*, a collection of the sayings

of the Prophet compiled by Ḥāfīz Ibn Ḥajar This edition of the work is intended to serve as a reading book for the use of students

Dr Burhān Ahmad Siddiqī of the Islamiya College, Jullundar, has prepared, and published through the Urdu Bookstall, Lahore, an Urdu version of his English work, *Mujaddid's Conception of Tauhid*.

Sh I.

NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

IQBAL, HIS ART AND THOUGHT,
by Syed 'Abdul-Vāhid, published by
Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, Kashmiri
Bazar, Lahore, Crown Octavo, XV
+ 265 pp with two plates, price Rs 6

IN this volume Mr S A Vāhid has studied the various aspects of Iqbal's poetry, and placed him in line with the greatest poets whom the world ever produced, such as Homer, Kālidās, Jalāl-u'd-Dīn Rūmī, Dante, Shakespeare, Milton and Goethe. This judgement may be regarded as premature because Iqbal died only six years ago and his poetry has still to undergo the stern test of time. There is no doubt, however, that Iqbal's verse for deep philosophical thought and forceful expression gained recognition in Europe and other parts of the world during the poet's lifetime, and he was hailed as one of the greatest poet-philosophers of Asia. Iqbal's 'philosophy of ego' so vigorously inculcated in his poems, particularly in *Asrār-i-Khudī* and *Rumūz-i-Bekhudī*—the former most ably translated into English by Prof R A Nicholson, impressed the Western savant as a novel interpretation of the doctrine of Islam in contrast to the pantheistic and fatalistic teachings of the divines of that faith in the Middle Ages. The poet was an ardent student of Jalāl-u'd-Dīn Rūmī from the beginning, his thesis for the doctorate also comprised a study of Maulānā Rūmī's *Mathnawī*, and it is most probable that such verses as —

میر کی گھرہ کہر یاش مرداند

روشہ صد و پیمبر شکار و برداں گیر

“ Below the turret of His Grandeur are men,

Capturing angels, hunting apostles
and fettering divinities ”

would have inspired him with the dynamic potentiality of self, and subsequently his philosophic mind worked out the theme in the light of the tenets of Islam as taught by the Holy Qur'ān. Iqbal possessed a versatile genius, and side by side with his poetic and philosophic talents he had a keen insight into the practical phases of life and accordingly his frequent emphasis on 'ceaseless action,' contentment and sympathy with fellow human beings all pointed out the way how the general disintegration and deterioration prevalent among the Muslims at present may be prevented, and a healthy and perfect community (Ummat) evolved from the chaos. Mr Vāhid has most ably discussed all these points in his book and given quotations from Iqbal's poems to elucidate his views. For example, on pp. 124-25 he has reproduced the following lines by Iqbal regarding the Ideal Man —

ہاتھ ہے اللہ کا دہہ مومن کا ہاتھ

عالم و کار آفرین کار کشا کارساز

حاکمی و بوری ہاد دہہ مر لا صفات

ہر دو جہاں سے عی اس کا دل فی تار

اس کی آمدین دلیل اس کے مقاصد حل

اس کی ادا دلہر ساس کی نگاہ دلوار

نرم دم گفتگو گرم دم حسو

رزم ہو یا نرم ہو یا کہ دل و یا کار

Translation

A Mo'min's arm is really God's arm—
Dominant, creative, resourceful, efficient
Human but like angels in disposition,
a servant with the master's attributes,
His carefree heart not worried about
either world
His hopes are small, his aims great,
His manners captivating, his eyes charming
Gentle in speech, fierce in action,
In war or in friendly assemblies pure of
heart and noble of disposition
And again in Persian the poet writes
(pp 148-49).—

آن هیرمدی که بر فطرت فرود
رار خود را بر نگاه ما کشود
آفرید کائنات دیگری
قلب را بخشد حیات دیگری

Translation

The skilful master improves upon
nature,
And reveals his secret to our gaze!
He creates a new world—
And gives a new life to our being!
Iqbal's philosophy is based on the
thought of both Western sages and
Eastern seers to which he has referred in
the following verse (p 191) —

خرد افروود مرا درس حکماں فرنگ
سه افروخت مرا بصحت صاحب نظران

Translation

The teaching of the Western sages
added to my knowledge,
Association with the Eastern seers has
imparted a fervent glow to my heart
Mr Vāhid has devoted a separate
chapter to the subject, *Iqbal as a Lyrical
Poet* (pp 184-209), and quoted lines from
his different poems to illustrate the charm
of his ideas and exquisite expression,
for example,

کبھی اے حقیقت منظر، طرا آ لاس محاز میں
کہ ہزاروں سجدے تڑپ رہے ہیں مری حین یار میں
For once O awaited Reality reveal
Thyself in a form material,
For a thousand prostrations are quivering
eagerly in my submissive brow

or

این حرف نشاط آور می گویم و می رسم
ار عشق دل آساید ما این همه نشانی

Translation

I utter this mirth-giving phrase and
dance with glee,
From Love the heart receives solace in
spite of all restlessness
None can deny the lyrical element in
Iqbal's verse, but, as philosophical ideas
predominate in all that he has composed
or sung, the present age and perhaps
also the posterity are likely to class
him as a philosopher-poet Iqbal him-
self has given his own opinion in one
of his lines wherein he writes that he
should not be taken for a *Ghazal Khwān*,
a lyrical poet

A student of Persian poetry may notice
the influence of Qa'āni in the cadence and
diction of Iqbal's verse, similarly some
scholars may perceive 'clear reflections'
of the fine imagery of the mystic poets in
lines like the following by Iqbal —

ای راہد طاهرین گبرم کہ خودی فانی است

لیکن تو بھی ہی طوفان بہ حجاب اندر
which is reminiscent of the well-known
verse of Hadrat Nasir-u'd-Dīn Chirāgh
Dihlavi The late Prof E G Browne
and in his wake some Indian scholars also
have traced some affinity between the
writings of the German philosopher
Nietzsche and Iqbal, which may be
true in regard to minor detail, but the
monotheistic philosophy of Iqbal is
essentially different from the atheistic
doctrine of eternal recurrence of Niet-
zsche The Holy Qur'ān, as interpreted
during the early centuries of Islam, forms
the basis of Iqbal's philosophy, and all
the force, love of truth and fraternal
feelings which make the prominent fea-
tures of Iqbal's writing are derived from
the same source

Mr Vāhid's style is clear and simple,
free from pedantry, and the volume
should be welcomed not only by the
admirers of Iqbal but by all those who
are interested in the progress of Eastern
thought

G Y

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT AND THE ISLAMIC STATE by Ilyās Ahmad, Urdu Publishing House, Allahabad, 1944, Royal 8vo pp, 190, price Rs 3

IT is only recently that the attention of political scientists has been drawn to the mass of original political thought contained in the works of Muslim writers and an attempt is being made to bridge the gulf which seems to exist between the classical and mediæval epoch of European history. But this is only an aspect of the case. We are fully conscious of the great debt which the so-called European civilization owes to Islam in all branches of science and arts of war and peace, but an attempt to estimate that debt in the field of political thought has still to be undertaken. A great wave of Islamic culture swept over the West for seven hundred years beginning with the eighth century A.C., and the Muslims continued to influence the life of the West directly right up till September 1609, when Phillip III of Spain decreed their final expulsion from Spain, while another wave of Turko-Muslim culture was spreading into Central Europe with its plume in the great siege of Vienna in September, 1529.

Thus, right from the beginning of the Islamic era Europe had the closest possible connection with all aspects of Muslim thought, and it is unthinkable that Islamic political thought had no influence on the West. Hobbes lived from 1588 to 1679 and published his work the *Leviathan* in 1651, Locke lived from 1632 to 1704 and his treatises on Civil Government are dated 1689, while Rousseau was born in 1712 and died in 1778 and it was at the age of 40 that his works began to see the light. These three great political thinkers of the West have made social contract the pivot of their political thought. The chain began just when the lustre of Islamic rule in the West had begun to dim while in the East it was still in the heyday of its glory.

Mr Ilyās Ahmad has attempted, at times convincingly, to give an estimate of the effect of the knowledge of history of early Islam on the political thinkers who propounded the theory of Social

Contract. There are people who try to judge the development of Islamic thought from the point of view of the ideas of the twentieth century, but what Mr. Ilyās Ahmad does is to show that the European writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries borrowed their ideas at least partly from the way they understood the unravelling of early Islam. He contends that the State of Nature, as propounded by the later writers is nothing else than the 'Ahdul-Jāhiliyat or the wild days of pre-Islam when there was neither law in the land of Arabia nor any superior to issue commands which might be obeyed. The whole country was full of internecine feuds where wars were the rule and there was not any peace worth the name. We may not agree with the author when he says that this was akin to the State of War which, according to Hobbes, existed in what may be termed the pre-State, for, while according to Hobbes "every man was an enemy to every man" in the pre-State, in Arabia before Islam it was the case of desultory though protracted and sanguinary quarrels between certain tribes, bred out of their exaggerated sense of self-respect and pride. The author seems to stretch his reasoning a little too far when he says that the second great pledge of Aqabah was the basis of the Hobbesian sovereign, for then also the Prophet "promised nothing" and thus perhaps appeared to Hobbes an autocrat. This is not so. The whole basis of the moral and political society created by Islam was two-fold: the supremacy of the Divine Law which controlled the actions of the Apostle of Islam and the ordinary Muslim alike, and the promise of the highest elevation of the individual in this life and the Hereafter if he joined that society. This is, of course, not what happens on the institution of the sovereign according to Hobbes, for the sovereign there is above the law and all that he promises is peace, which is regarded as the end, not the means, towards something else.

It is not so much Hobbes as the author of *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos* whose arguments run parallel to the second pledge of Aqabah, for according to him the finest contract was between God and

the ruler of the Israelites that they would worship no God but Him and would maintain true religion. The *Vindiciæ*, in a way, postulate a law which is superior to the laws propounded by the king himself.

There is one thing which Mr. Ilyās Ahmad has brought out well in this connection, and that is the principle of Peace represented by the very word "Islām," directly contrasting with the 'Ahdul-Jāhiliyat or the pre-Islamic days and comparing the same with the pre-State and the commonwealth of Hobbes. But he is far more interesting, at times even convincing, when he comes to Rousseau. Rousseau has always been an enigma to thinkers on political science. In religion he began with Protestantism, became a Catholic, a creed which he later ridiculed in his works, and ended in Deism propounding a civil religion with an omnipotent God. In politics he gives the sovereign power in the hands of the whole community, yet he is explicit that "of themselves the people always desire what is good, but do not always dream it," and that, "individuals see the good which they reject while the public desire the good which they do not see," and again that "the general will is always right, but the judgement which guides it is not always enlightened." It is for this purpose that he wants "light" from a legislator. The office of the legislator as Rousseau discerns it, does not enter into the constitution of the State; it is a "superior office, having nothing in common with human government." And now let us see what Rousseau has to say about this legislator. This superior intelligence would be one "who could see all the passions of men without experiencing any of them, who would have no affinity with our nature and yet know it thoroughly, whose happiness would not depend on us and who would nevertheless be quite willing to interest himself in ours, and, lastly, one who, storing up for himself with the progress of time a far off glory in the future, could labour in one age and enjoy in another." Finally Rousseau exclaims that these attributes could only be those of God Himself.

Mr. Ilyās Ahmad argues systematically

that the whole conception of the State of nature is taken from the interpretation of pre-Islamic Arabia. There is a point which is in favour of this reading which he has perhaps overlooked and that is the claim of the Qur'ān that Islām is the "Path of Nature," which is unalterable. Everything which did not conform to this was contrary to natural laws governing the peaceful progress of the world and to the well-being of the freedom of the world at large and went against the concepts of equality and fraternity as Islam understood it. It may be that it is this aspect of the question which makes Rousseau say that whoever refuses to obey the general will "shall be forced to be free, i.e.," forced to accept the Path of Nature.

To many it will be regarded as wishful thinking, but there is one thing more than anything else which is conspicuous in the early history of Islam and that is the series of contracts which began in pre-Islamic Hilful-Fudūl (which was a kind of temporary measure meant to end lawlessness at Mecca) and ended in the consolidation of all Arabia under an Islamic banner. The process was slow but almost every step that was taken was that of entering into some contract or other. In Islamic times it began with the two great pacts of 'Aqabah, the contract with the Muslims of Madinah, the contract with the non-Muslims of Madinah, creating what may be called a non-communal composite State, the contract with the people of Mecca after the entry of the Apostle of Islam and finally the contract with the representatives of all Arabia during what is termed the 'Āmu'l-Wufūd or the Year of Deputations. These contracts were, as Mr. Ilyās Ahmad says, renovated after the death of each Khalifa, much as Hobbes delineates in his book with regard to the need for the renovation after the demise of a sovereign.

We are not concerned here so much with Rousseau's religion, which the author says was Islam in disguise, but the fact remains that most of his portraits that exist now happen to be in oriental costume. Moreover, while he rejects the Roman Catholic form of Christianity

as being an "extravagant kind of religion which gives to men two sets of laws, two Chiefs, two countries, imposes on them contradictory duties, and prevents them from being at once devout men and citizens," he considers the society set up under the pure form of the Gospels to be "no longer a society of men." On the other hand, he says quite unequivocally that the Apostle of Islam "had very sound views, he thoroughly unified his political system; and so long as his form of government subsisted under his successors the Khalifa, the government was quite undivided and in that respect good." As we know, Rousseau died a pauper and during the intoxicated height of the French Revolution his bones were dug up, ground, and scattered to the winds!

Mr Ilyās Ahmad gives enough food for thought and his book is worth a study. Certain obvious mistakes disfigure the text, such as Uhad for Uhud, and Hadarmaut for Haḍramaut, but these do not minimise the importance of the thesis.

H K S

THE MEANING OF PAKISTAN,

by F K Khān Durrānī, publishers
Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, Kashmiri
Bazar, Lahore, price Rs 4

THERE is no doubt that Pakistan is today the most controversial problem of Indian political questions, without the proper solution of which the final political salvation of India would not be possible. In this book Mr F K Khān Durrānī has tried to clarify the issue in the light of his own ideas some of which might be disputed.

Every student of Mediæval India knows that communal alienation was not a feature of those days. During the Mughal rule Hindus and Muslims lived quite amicably together as friends and neighbours, and even shared one another's joys and sorrows. Now the real question to be inquired into is what the factors are to have upset the amicable

relations between the members of the two communities? The author is right when he says that the aggressive racial nationalism of the European pattern which some people in India have lately developed has led us to inter-communal hatred. Hindus claim the right of majority rule in the country which Muslims dispute. They cannot agree to a permanent majority rule in such a heterogeneous society as that of India. According to them the principle of majority rule presupposes particular political and social conditions which unfortunately do not exist in India.

The late Sir Muhammad Iqbal first expounded this idea in his Presidential Address delivered at the Allahabad Session of the All-India Muslim League in December 1930. He said — "Experience, however, shows that the various caste units and religious units in India have shown no inclination to sink their respective individualities in a larger whole. Each group is intensely jealous of its collective existence. The formation of the moral consciousness which constitutes the essence of a nation in Renan's sense demands a price which the peoples of India are not prepared to pay. The unity of an Indian nation, therefore, must be sought, not in the negation, but in the mutual harmony and co-operation of the many."

To achieve the ideal of mutual harmony and co-operation under such conditions, centralised unitary Government or a federation would not help much. On the contrary such a scheme should be evolved as would afford the various component elements of the population of India chances of fully working out the possibilities that may be latent in them.

Sir Muhammad Iqbal was confident of the future prospects of the political life of the countrymen when he said, "Perhaps we are unwilling to recognise that each group has a right to free development according to its own cultural traditions. But whatever may be the causes of our failure, I still feel hopeful. Events seem to be tending in the direction of some sort of internal harmony. I have no hesitation in declaring that,

if the principle that the Indian Muslim is entitled to full and free development on the lines of his own culture and tradition in his own Indian homelands is recognised as the basis of a permanent communal settlement, he will be ready to stake his all for the freedom of India" (p. 207)

To make the self-determination of the Muslim units really effective, it would be necessary to bring into existence a loose confederation from which these units might secede at will or divide India into several full-fledged sovereign States which might contract a treaty for subjects of common concern as currency, trade, railways and even defence.

We are surprised to find that Mr Durrāni, being vehemently against aggressive nationalism of the Hindus, wants the Muslims to adopt the same blatant attitude by asking them to reconquer the whole of India for Islam (p. x). This is pure and simple jingoism which, if followed, will lead to inter-communal hatred of the worst kind. But there is hardly any need to dwell upon this in detail, for the Muslims have invariably followed their human and generous instinct in such situations, which has invariably stood them in good stead.

Y H

"MODERN PERSIAN POETRY" by Dr Md Ishāq, pp. xix+226, size Demy 8vo printed at Ripon Printing Press, Lahore, can be had of M. Israil, Esq., 159-B, Dharamtala Street, Calcutta, price Rs. 15

CONTENTS—An excellent foreword by the Hon'ble Dr Sir Nawab Mahdi Yar Jung Bahadur, Education Member, H.E.H. the Nizam's Executive Council, with seven chapters dealing with the birth of modern poetry, poets, language, metres, verse-forms, themes, and containing conclusion, bibliography and index.

Ever since the publication of the first and the second part of the *Sukhumwarān-i-Iran dar 'Āṣr-i-Hāq'* compiled by

Dr Md Ishāq, it was expected that the author would bring out a critical review of the modern tendencies of Persian poetry as a whole and assess the real value of this transitory period of Persian literature and particularly poetry, which had undergone a great change in its subject-matter and treatment as a result of the various influences that have been enumerated by the author in his first chapter, the Birth.

It is to be seen whether it is entirely a new kind or form of poetry or its peculiar phase under the pressure of circumstances. Birth would mean something entirely new, creative, original and unprecedented. According to the author, "there are no Firdausis or Sa'adis, but the distinctive feature of most of them is definite individuality which will secure to them a sure place in modern pantheon." The question is whether the modern pantheon reflects anything beyond national patriotism or political lore. Is there any higher philosophy or idealism behind all this national fervour which may be termed as universal poetry, having an appeal for all times and a message for humanity in general? The Hon'ble Dr Sir Nawab Mahdi Yar Jung Bahadur has struck the keynote in his brilliant preface by asking a plain question: what is the real value of this transitory production as literature? In the long list of poets that is given in the second chapter, one finds only a few names which deserve an honourable seat in the pantheon. Although their characteristic features have been pointed out in brief, the essence of their poetic imagination has not been analysed to show their superiority as artists and creators of modern thought and idealism in Persian literature. Their chronological and geographical classification does not lead the reader to the depth of their minds. Perhaps the author thinks that time alone will pass judgement on the individual merits of the galaxy of the modern poets. The author has undoubtedly dealt with their metres and verse-forms, themes and peculiarities in a capable manner with a number of examples. Aqā Jamalzadeh, in his preface to the first part of the *Sukhumwarān-*

1-Iran dar 'Asr-i-Hādīr has briefly pointed out that modern Persian poets can be classified into three or four distinct categories

(1) The Conservatives or the blind imitators of the classical school, (2) the Radicalists or the ultra-modernists, who, in their zeal for reform and national sentiment, are condemning the old literature. These two are the extreme sections of modern Persian poets, the former is dwindling, while the latter is trying to reach the Parnassus of Persian poetry with great effort but little achievement.

There is another division of Persian poets who are observing the via media in Persian poetry, who know the real wealth of classical literature and are well-versed in it, and are conscious of its shortcomings and are fully alive to the necessities of modern times. This school of moderates, according to his opinion, is the hope of future Iran. While the fourth, the mushroom class of poets are doomed to destruction.

The author himself has expressed a similar opinion by saying that Persian letters during the past millennium had attained very high stages of perfection and classicism, and this solid fortress could not be stormed by Western influences without a thorough preparation. If from the question of standards, one turns to contents and forms of modern Persian poetry, one has to admit that the new tendencies have revolutionised Persian

poetry, and the apostles of the modern movement have enlarged the sphere of poetry by introducing new themes into it. The new movement has liberated Persian poetry from the fetters of conventionalism and artificiality. It can be identified with the endeavour of the Persian nation to create and mould the whole environment, natural, social and cultural for the progressive realization of individual and national freedom. This modern period with all its redeeming features and drawbacks is a period of formation of "Romanticism" which may lead to great results in future.

This short survey of modern Persian poetry provides ample material along with the texts of the two volumes of the *Sukhūwarān-i-Iran, the Adabiyāt-i-Ma'asir* of Rashid-i-Yasīnī and other later publications, for the study of modern Iran not only in the field of literature but also in sociology. It forms a good complement to the "Modern Iran," a brilliant and well-balanced account of the activities of the pre-war government of Iran by Mr Elwell Sutton. We welcome the publication of *Modern Persian Poetry* and expect that it will receive a very warm reception from the hands of those who want to know Persia or the modern Persian thought intimately and through first-hand sources. The author is to be congratulated on the get-up and publication of this book in such difficult times.

M N

BOOKS RECEIVED

1 Indian Young Muslim Union's organ "*The Crescent*" has been as usual published in September 1944 and it contains articles in three languages, i.e., English, Gujarati and Urdu. The English section of the Magazine comprises the following papers which are worth reading:

1 *Safeguard for Muslims in the Post-War Reconstruction of Education in India* by Dr. Sir Ziauddin Ahmad

11 *The Cult of Sufis*—by Nawab Sir Ahmad Hussain, Amin Jung Bahadur.

111 *The Islamic Conception of a Gentleman*—by Dr. M. A. Mu'id Khan.

1v *Prophet Mohammad*—by Sir Mohammad Yamin Khan

- v *An Important Point about the History of Muslim Gujarat*—by Dr M Abdullah Chaghtai
- vi *Indian Muslims and their Neglect of Science*—by Prof Mohd A R Khan
- vii *Arabic Sources of the History of Gujarat Saltanat*—by Janab Qazi Ahmad Mian Akhtar
- viii *The Spirit of Science and World Unity*—by Dr M Raziuddin
- ix *Why should one Study the Life of the Prophet*—by Dr Mohammad Hamidullah
- x *India's Economics*—by Dr S N A Jafri
- xi *I Search the Chest*—by Dr Salebhhai Tyebbhaj
- 2 *The People of Poland*—by Bernear Newman
- 3 *Poland and Russia*—by Dr J Weyers, published by the Indo-Polish Library
- 4 *Pakistan*—by Dr Shaukat-Ullah Ansari, published by Minerva Book-Shop, Lahore
- 5 *What Poland Wants*—by Ignacy Matuszewski, published by the Indo-Polish Library
- 6 *Eastern Pakistan its Population and Delimitation and Economics*, published by East Pakistan Renaissance Society, Calcutta
- 7 *Turkiyat Macmuası* (in Turkish language)—by Dr H Ritter
- 8 *Philologika* (in German language)—by Dr H Ritter, published by Walter De Gruyter & Co, Berlin
- 9 *Das Proomium des Matnawī-i-Maulvī* (in German language)—by Dr H Ritter, published by Kommissionsverlag F A Brockhaus, Leipzig
- 10 *Kitab Bad, Man Anaba Ila Llahita* 'Ala (in German language)—by Dr. H. Ritter
- 11 *Farsca Grameri* (in Turkish language)—by Dr H Ritter
- 12 *A Handlist of the Arabic, Persian and Hindustani MSS*, compiled by R B Serjeant, Ph D
- 13 *Hal and Talwar* (in Urdu), published by United Publication, Delhi
- 14 *Dārā Shikuh and Fine Arts*—by Bikrama Jit Hasrat, Santiniketan (off-print)
- 15 *Mukālama Bābā Lāl wa Dārā Shikuh*—by Bikrama Jit Hasrat, Santiniketan (off-print)

Corrigenda

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Page	Line	Text	Correction
301	1	The Mughal	The Mughals
237	10	long trial	long trail
278	4	subacida	Subadcid
278	ft note 5	remonstration	remonstratie

NOTICE.

All manuscripts, letters, etc., meant for the Editor, should be addressed to the Secretary, Editorial Board, and business correspondence to the Manager, Islamic Culture, Hyderabad, Deccan.

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Ed., I. C.

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